

# THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

## *Review of Reviews.*

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No. 1.

### THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*New Pages of Great History.* There was a time when the four countries of the world most sufficient unto themselves, and seemingly farthest removed from the interaction of world-movements, were the United States, China, Japan, and Korea. Our own country in due time has grown to maturity and taken its great place in the recognition and regard of Europe and the world. China has come to be a country of intense concern to all the leading nations. Korea has ceased to be a "Hermit Kingdom" through conditions which have made it an international bone of contention; and Japan has stepped forth from a place of exclusiveness and timidity into the rank of great powers,—a mighty conqueror, henceforth the dominant and guiding influence in the destinies of Asia, and most potent of factors in the blending of old-world and new-world civilizations that must surely modify American and European life as well as the life of the ancient peoples of the Orient. It was a matter for great rejoicing as this number of the REVIEW passed from the editorial rooms to the printing-presses to feel some assurance that the end of the colossal war between Russia and Japan was near at hand. To be sure, a truce had not been declared, and a great land engagement between the forces of General Oyama and General Linevich, already begun, seemed destined to be carried to a finish with frightful loss of life. Yet the end of the war seemed clearly in sight. At the beginning of the war, our own government at Washington, with the moral influence and good-will of Germany and other European powers, had taken steps to secure a limiting of the theater of hostilities. Otherwise, the territory of China (apart from Manchuria) would surely have been invaded by both belligerents, with the danger of protracting hostilities, bringing other nations into the conflict, and most surely dismembering China amid the clashing of a number of anxious and grasping powers. A fearful danger was averted.

*America's Influence and Concern.* This was a great service for our government to have rendered at the opening of the war, and it is not less gratifying to Americans that the initial steps toward a basis for bringing the war to an end were taken by the Chief Magistrate of this republic. The past month has been one of far-reaching events upon the plane of great history, and we may well turn these editorial pages away from home topics and give them more fully than usual to the things of the world beyond our gates. After all, it has come to pass for us Americans that we no longer count as alien to our interest those things that deeply affect other nations or that change the relationships of one people toward another. When this magazine, some fifteen years ago, began its monthly issues, it gave what in the United States was an unwonted and novel attention to foreign questions. In those days, only a limited public was on the one hand familiar with such matters, or was on the other hand eager to know about them. A marvelous change has come about in the range of American information and opinion. We have now a great American public caring about the concerns of mankind from Norway and Sweden to Morocco, and from Tibet to Venezuela. It has been the endeavor of the REVIEW to march steadily with this widening of American horizons. Not only have our people become better informed and more deeply interested, but our government and our diplomacy have changed in such regards until at length Washington has become a center of activity and influence in the affairs of the nations.

*Theodore Roosevelt, Peacemaker.* Emperors and kings make war: it is reserved for presidents to make peace. The great historic event of the month of June, of which Americans can be justly proud, was the peace suggestion of President Roosevelt to Russia and Japan, which has been accepted by both the warring nations. The com-

ALL EYES ON AMERICA.—From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland).

bination of decision and tact which is characteristic of the highest diplomacy was perhaps never so finely shown as in the President's remarkable note to both Russia and Japan, which was read to the Czar by Ambassador Meyer in person, on June 7, and presented to the Mikado, in Tokio, at the same time. Calling attention to the clause of the Hague convention which provides that a suggestion of intermediation shall never be considered an unfriendly act by disputing powers, our ambassadors at the Russian and Japanese capitals presented the following note :

The President feels that the time has come when in the interest of all mankind he must endeavor to see if it is not possible to bring to an end the terrible and lamentable conflict now being waged. With both Russia and Japan the United States has inherited ties of friendship and good-will. It hopes for the prosperity and welfare of each, and it feels that the progress of the world is set back by the war between these two great nations. The President accordingly urges the Russian and Japanese governments, not only for their own sakes, but in the interest of the whole civilized world, to open direct negotiations for peace with each other. The President suggests that these peace negotiations be conducted directly and exclusively between the belligerents; in other words, that there be a meeting of Russian and Japanese plenipotentiaries or delegates without any intermediary, in order to see if it is not possible for these representatives of the two powers to

agree to terms of peace. The President earnestly asks that the (Japanese) (Russian) Government do now agree to such meeting, and is now asking the (Russian) (Japanese) Government likewise to agree. While the President does not feel that any intermediary should be called in in respect to peace negotiations themselves, he is entirely willing to do what he properly can if the two powers concerned feel that his services will be of aid in arranging the preliminaries as to the time and place of meeting. But even if these preliminaries can be arranged directly between the two powers, or in any other way, the President will be glad, as his sole purpose is to bring about a meeting which the whole civilized world will pray may result in peace.

*Russia  
and Japan  
Respond.*

President Roosevelt's idea was that both countries could, without sacrificing their justifiable national pride, appoint representatives to consider whether peace might not be arranged without either nation first proposing terms of peace; that these representatives might meet at some neutral point, without the intervention or coöperation of any third power. In brief, he said to Russia and Japan, "Intervention is not necessary, but if I can do anything to make it possible that you meet and decide these matters yourselves, I will be more than glad to do so," and the civilized world, including the press of both belligerent powers, applauded. After considerable interchange of



opinions and views, and much diplomatic fencing, Russia's assent to the peace suggestion was delivered orally to the President by Count Cassini. The text of Russia's reply was received later by the President and communicated to Minister Takahira direct. The paragraph which caused some discussion, and suspicion on the part of Japan, read as follows:

As for an eventual meeting of Russian and Japanese plenipotentiaries charged with ascertaining how far it would be possible for the two powers to elaborate conditions of peace, the Imperial Government would have no objection in principle to such an attempt if the Japanese Government expressed a desire therefor.

The government at Tokio has been ready for peace for months, but some doubt has been felt in Japan as to the sincerity of Russia's desire, and Japan, which realizes that the diplomatic battle she is now entering upon is of greater importance to her future than the actual fighting in the far East, hesitated to commit herself to a position which might afford Russia an excuse for backing down. On June 15, the text of the Japanese reply was made public. It follows:

The Imperial Government have given to the suggestions of the President of the United States, embodied in the note handed to the minister for foreign affairs by the United States minister on the 9th inst., very serious consideration, to which, because of its source and its import, it is justly entitled. Desiring, in the interest of the world as well as in the interest of Japan, the reestablishment of peace with Russia, on terms and conditions that will fully guarantee its stability, the Imperial Government will, in response to the suggestions of the President, appoint plenipotentiaries of Japan to meet the plenipotentiaries of Russia at such time and place as may be found to be mutually agreeable and convenient for the purpose of negotiating and concluding terms of peace directly and exclusively between the two belligerent powers.

In the peace negotiations much credit must be given, of course, to Count Cassini and Minister Takahira, and to the ambassadors of France, Germany, and England, who were in constant touch with the President, assuring him of the hearty support of their governments. The Kaiser is known to have lent his most cordial support to President Roosevelt's project. It was recognized that the question of indemnity would be the point of issue. Russia, however, having virtually admitted the principle of indemnity, it was generally believed that diplomatic pressure by neutral nations would be brought to bear upon Japan to make her demands moderate.

The next stage of the proceedings was the settlement upon place of meeting. Russia desired Paris, but Japan objected, since it is the capital of Russia's ally. Japan wished to settle upon Chefu, but

Russia objected, since the latter is supposed to have a pro-Japanese atmosphere. President Roosevelt is reported to have favored some point in Manchuria, but, later, is known to have regarded The Hague or Geneva as desirable places. Japan, however, positively refused to consider any point in Europe, and Russia would not consent to any place in the far East. Washington was therefore finally chosen, and the decision has already gone into history in the newspaper dispatches all over the world referring to the coming "Washington conference." Russia's intention to limit the powers of her representative to those of receiving Japan's terms had been objected to by the Tokio government, which insisted that the Russian envoy should be plenipotentiary, clothed with full powers to negotiate, subject, of course, in the most vital matters, to the general government at home. And Japan's wishes prevailed. The choice of representatives then became the subject of discussion, the indications being that there would be three commissioners on each side; and it was definitely announced on June 17 that M. Nelidov, at present Russian ambassador at Paris, and a statesman of long experience, had been chosen by the Czar, and that Marquis Ito, one of her leading statesmen and a man of well-tryed ability, would probably represent Japan. Both governments settled upon August as the date of meeting. In case the weather conditions in Washington (which is a very hot city in summer) are such at that time to make it oppressive for the distinguished foreigners, President Roosevelt had suggested that the sessions be adjourned to some cooler northern point.

*The American  
Idea of  
Neutrality.*

The conviction which has taken possession of so large a portion of the civilized world that in matters of international politics the United States of America is absolutely and consistently virtuous was further strengthened immediately after the sweeping Japanese naval victory by the action of our government in compelling the internment at Manila of the three vessels of Admiral Enquist's squadron. On June 3, the *Oleg*, *Aurora*, and *Jemchug*, in a terribly battered condition, entered the harbor of Manila, having escaped from Togo's pursuit. The Russian commander at once requested from Governor-General Wright and Rear-Admiral Train, in command of the American squadron at Manila, permission to remain and repair. After consultation with the President, Secretary Taft telegraphed to Governor-General Wright that "time cannot be given for the repair of the injuries received in battle. Therefore, the vessels cannot be re-

paired unless interned until the end of hostilities." It is the firm conviction of the President and his advisers that, while repair of damages to warships by accident or stress of the elements can be permitted according to the laws of strict neutrality as well as the dictates of humanity, the practical refitting of ships of war which have received their injuries in battle is not in accordance with the duties of a neutral. This introduces a new principle into considerations of neutrality, but, with the exception of a few mild, perfunctory protests from Russian journals, its justness and correctness have been admitted by the world at large. In accordance with the President's instructions and the decision of the Russian admiral, who gave his parole, the three Russian vessels have been completely disarmed, and will remain interned at Manila until the close of the war. The strictly just and impartial attitude of the United States in this matter has retained for us the good-will of both contesting nations.

Norway  
Separates  
from Sweden.

By the most methodical and business-like of revolutions, a new nation entered the international family last month. After nearly a century of union with

Sweden, Norway has become a separate as well as an independent state. The immediate cause of disruption was the refusal of Sweden to grant a separate consular service to Norway. The real reason is found in the facts of radically opposite national temperaments and different economic and commercial interests. On May 28, King Oscar vetoed the Norwegian Storting's bill providing for separate Norwegian consulates. The entire Norwegian cabinet thereupon resigned in a body, but the King refused to receive their resignations. Regarding this as an unconstitutional act, the Norwegian ministry declared that the King had forfeited his position, and, on June 7, the Storting declared the union dissolved and King Oscar dethroned as king of Norway by passing this resolution:

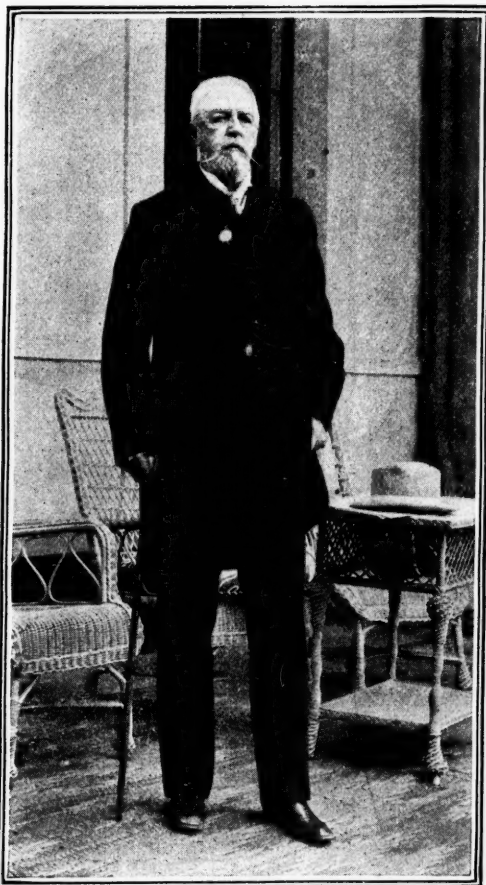
*Whereas*, All the members of the council of state have laid down their offices; *Whereas*, His Majesty the King has declared himself unable to establish a new government for the country; and *Whereas*, The constitutional regal power thus becomes inoperative, the Storting authorizes the members of the council of state who retired to-day to exercise until further notice as the Norwegian government the power appertaining to the King in accordance with Norway's constitution and existing laws, with those changes which are necessitated by the fact that the union with Sweden under

one king is dissolved in consequence of the King having ceased to act as Norwegian king.

An address from the Storting, under the guidance of Christian Michelsen, premier of the cabinet and *de facto* head of the Norwegian government, in which the disruption of the union is referred to as "the course of developments which have proved more powerful than the desire and will of individuals," was sent to King Oscar. It was a temperate, respectful, and dignified address, calling attention to the irritation caused by the misunderstanding between the two nations, and declaring that the union had become a danger to the feeling of solidarity between the Norwegian and Swedish peoples. The address emphasized the good feeling toward the Swedish people and King Oscar's family by requesting his majesty to select a prince of his own house as



FREE AGAIN! from the World (New York).



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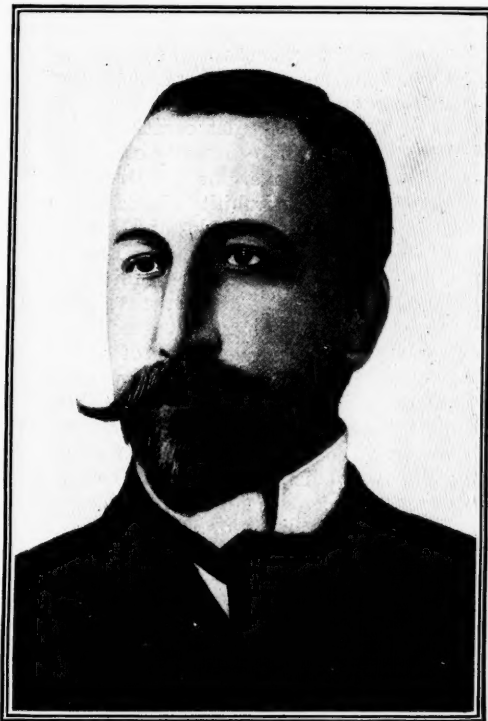
#### KING OSCAR OF SWEDEN.

(Until June 7, ruler of Sweden and Norway. He resumed his duties as monarch late in May, after several months' regency by the Crown Prince Gustav.)

king of Norway, of course relinquishing his right of succession to the throne of Sweden. In reply, King Oscar declared that his veto of the consular bill was within his constitutional rights, and declined to abdicate the Norwegian throne, because, as he asserted, Sweden's consent is necessary to a dissolution of the union. The official action of Sweden will be taken by the Riksdag, which begins its regular session July 1.

While the government and the people of Sweden are standing loyally by King Oscar, it is not conceivable that any forcible means will be used to keep Norway in the union against her will. Indeed, many of Sweden's leaders have publicly announced that Sweden's stake in the matter is

not of sufficient importance to justify this, even were combined Europe to permit it. Moreover, the very powerful Swedish Socialist party, which is very strong in the army, as well as almost all the labor unions of Sweden, have announced, in letters addressed to Norwegian socialistic bodies, that Swedish Socialists will refuse to march against their brethren in Norway. The actual separation was consummated by the lowering of the union flag from the tower of the government fort in Christiania, where it had floated since 1814. The Norwegian tricolor was then hoisted in its place. The opinion of the rest of the world is not unanimous as to the wisdom of Norway's move, the chief objection alleged being fear of Russian aggression. St. Petersburg, it is known, has long desired an ice-free port on the Atlantic, and Norway alone would, of course, be unable to resist Muscovite aggression. As yet, no foreign power has recognized Norway as an independent nation, and it is confidently predicted in Stockholm that, with Sweden objecting, no foreign power is likely to extend such recognition. This, it is believed, will eventually force Norway into negotiations which will prob-



MR. CHRISTIAN MICHELSEN.  
(Head of the *de facto* Norwegian government.)



Dr. Sven Hedin.

Dr. Fridjof Nansen.

Dr. Björnsterne Björnson.

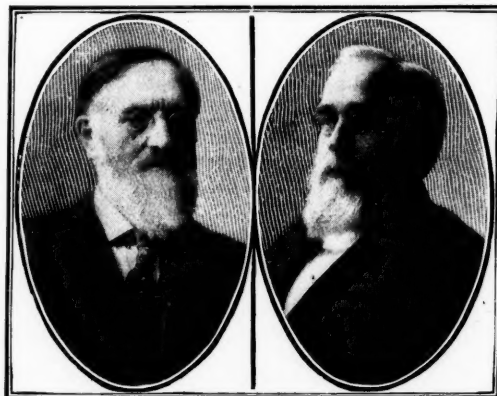
NORWEGIAN AND SWEDISH LEADERS IN THE CONTROVERSY PRECEDING THE NORWEGIAN REVOLUTION.

ably result in separate independence, consummated, however, after a manner more agreeable to Sweden's pride. In the event of it being found difficult to find a Scandinavian prince willing and able to accept the throne of the new nation, the chances for a Norwegian republic are exceedingly bright; in fact, many of the leaders of this intensely democratic people are now looking forward to the early establishment of such a form of government. Discussion of the possibility and desirability of a Scandinavian union of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden is again being revived in the press of Europe and the United States. The entire subject of discussion, with comments from both Norwegian and Swedish standpoints, is presented in a special article on another page of this issue (65). The controversy had already been thoroughly covered in a series of articles in the *London Times*, by the famous Norwegians, Björnsterne Björnson and Fridjof Nansen, and the eminent Swedish explorer, Dr. Sven Hedin.

*Togo Master  
of the  
Situation.*

In the light of the events of May 27 to June 3 in far-Eastern waters, the world can see how vain was all its prophecy and speculation with regard to the intentions of the Russian and Japanese admirals. These events have proven that the only man—not excepting Admiral Rozhdestvenski himself—who really knew the place and power of every Japanese and Russian ship, and where Admiral Rozhdestvenski was going, was the man who most needed to know these things—Admiral

Togo. It is the common knowledge of the world now how the Russian commander determined upon his bold stroke. It is impossible to believe that Admiral Rozhdestvenski had any adequate knowledge of the exact strength of his opponent's fleet, its readiness for action, and its commander's knowledge of his own whereabouts. Otherwise, he most certainly would have attempted to get to Vladivostok by an indirect route, instead of dashing through the Korean Straits. Of course, he knew that the supreme effort of the Japanese navy would be to guard the channel across which communication was being held with her armies on the mainland. He must have known. Probably his dash by



Prof. Rasmus Anderson.

Dr. John A. Enander.

EMINENT AMERICAN SCANDINAVIANS (see pages 68, 69).



the Tsu Islands was made with a full knowledge of these facts, with the intention of taking Admiral Togo by surprise, on the assumption that, just because it was likely to be Japan's best-guarded point, therefore he would not be expected to pass that way.

*Rozhestvenski  
Brave but  
Unfortunate.*

It is impossible to withhold a great deal of sympathy and not a little admiration from this man who, though in the poorest of health and under the most trying physical conditions, carried the fortunes of Russia in his own hands for half a year, and finally staked those fortunes on a gallant, if almost hopeless, dash for victory. The butt and gibe of the world's ridicule and contempt, this sailor, heroic in his devotion to his country, even if he was an international peril, with a large proportion of his crews mere landmen who had never seen service on the water before, with mutiny rampant, his ships foul with weeds and short of coal and provisions,—this man steamed bravely into the Japanese trap, made a gallant fight, and suffered almost mortal wounds in the service of his country. Admiral Rozhestvenski did all that it was possible for man to do with the means at his command. Grievously wounded, in a Japanese naval hospital, frankly admitting the superiority and generosity of his captors, he is one more victim of the utterly incompetent and corrupt Russian autocracy, which is again branded with failure by the only test it has boasted it could stand in its claim to be a civilized power,—military prowess. The autocracy has despised and oppressed Russia's artists, her writers, her painters, and her musicians, even when the rest of the world honored them. It has claimed preëminence by its warlike might alone, and now, when brought to the supreme test by a nation which the world has known only as artistic, and not for its soldiers, the Russian autocracy has made a miserable, contemptible failure. Russia's soldiers and sailors have not belied their historic reputation for bravery. It is the system that has failed, not the men.

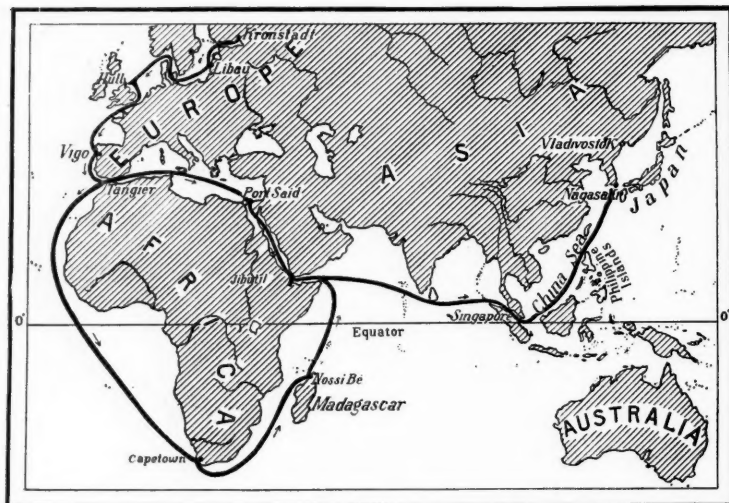


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ADMIRAL TOGO AND HIS TWO SONS.

*Battle of  
the Sea of  
Japan.*

In the Korean Straits, lying about midway between the main Japanese island and the end of the Korean peninsula, is the heavily fortified, rocky island of Tsu. This is really two islands, divided by a very narrow passage. When the fog lifted between 5 and 6 on the morning of May 27, the Russian fleet, in two columns, was discovered near Quelpart Island by Togo's scouts, steaming northeast into the Korean Strait, headed, apparently, for Tsushima (Tsu Island). The news was sent to the Japanese admiral's flagship by wireless telegraphy. Togo's plans, it is now evident, had been, from the first, clear and simple. His hitherto mysterious base was Masampo, Korea, and there, with his fleet close in hand, he watched the Korean Straits, while his fine scouting and information service kept him informed of every move of the Russians. As soon as the news reached the *Mikasa* that the Russians were really coming on, the Japanese fleet prepared for action and took position in the center of the Korean Strait, probably just north of Tsu Island, waiting to see which channel the Russians would take. About noontime, the Japanese scouts telegraphed that the Russians were coming up the eastern channel (some thirty miles wide), between Japan proper and Tsu-

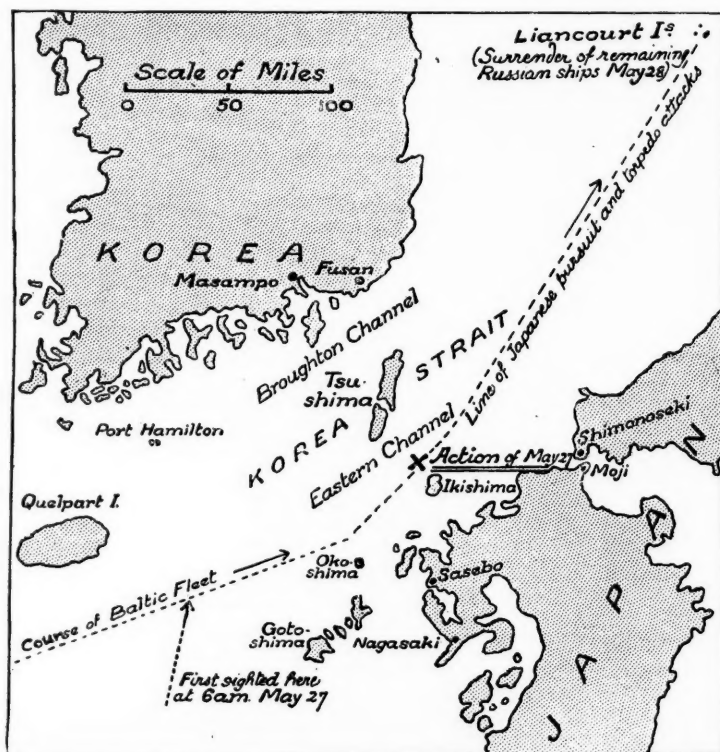


THE VOYAGE OF THE BALTIC FLEET AROUND THE WORLD.

shima. Admiral Togo at once deployed his fleet across the northern mouth of this channel, from Tsushima to Ikishima (see map), and waited. The Russians advanced into action in three columns, their eight battleships, under the immediate command of Admiral Rozhdestvenski himself, on the side toward Japan, and their six cruisers on the left. Behind them came the coast-defense ship and destroyers, with the transports and colliers in the center, — thirty-two vessels in all. From Admiral Togo's flagship, the *Mikasa*, could be seen the signal, in almost the same words as Nelson's famous signal flown just one hundred years before: "The destiny of our Empire depends upon this action. You are expected to do your utmost." It was a few minutes past 2 in the afternoon when Rozhdestvenski's flagship, the *Kniaz Suvarov*, at the head of the Russian line, fired the first shot. The *Mikasa* replied, and soon the fighting became general along a line of fifty miles.

The details of the opening maneuvers have not yet been made clear. Most credible accounts state that the Japanese admiral, Kataoka, with a light cruiser squadron, first attacked Admiral Rozhdestvenski, and that then Admiral Kamimura, with the rest of the cruisers, having let the Russians pass, swung upon them from the south. At the same time, Admirals Dewa and Uriu broke in upon them from Iki Islands, on the north, and the battleship squadron, under the command of Admiral Togo himself, pressed the discomfited Russians from the west. The broad lines of

Togo's strategy in the battle, however, consisted of throwing a heavy division across the Russian's line of advance as they came on,



THE KOREA STRAITS, SHOWING WHERE THE GREAT NAVAL BATTLE WAS FOUGHT.

while with his destroyer division and supporting vessels, on the west, he gradually crowded the Russians toward the coast of Japan. The battle was really won in an hour, he reports. As the fighting continued, the Japanese slowly enveloped the Russians on the north, west, and south. These maneuvers increased the disadvantages of the Russian position, already badly handicapped by Admiral Rozhdestvenski's poor battle formation. The Japanese ships were painted a light green and gray, and were scarcely visible, while most of the Russian vessels, with their yellow and black coating, were excellent marks for Togo's men, long and carefully trained at shooting in a rough sea. Wind, sun, and weather were against the Russians. In rough water, the badly trained gunners had to fire against the wind, with the sun in their eyes, while the Japanese had the sun at their backs, and fired "down wind." One after another, each Russian vessel was singled out in turn and on it was concentrated the terrific fire of almost the entire Japanese fleet. In two hours the Russians had become completely disorganized. During Saturday (May 27), the splendid battleships *Sissoi Veliki* and *Borodino* were sunk, the latter receiving her death-wound in the evening from the torpedo-boat flotilla. During the night that followed, the Japanese continued their torpedo attacks, finishing up the work of the battleship gunnery during the day, and sinking the *Kniaz Suvarov*, the *Alexander III.*, and the *Ostlyabya*. On Sunday, the 28th, the battleships *Nicholas I.* and *Orel* were captured, as were also the *Admiral Seniavin* and the *Admiral Apraxine*, coast-defense vessels. The armored cruisers *Admiral Nakhimov* and *Vladimir Monomakh* were badly crippled by gunfire on Saturday and sunk (near Tsushima) by torpedoes on Sunday. The battleship *Navarin*, the coast-defense ship *Admiral Oushakov*, the armored cruiser *Dmitri Donskoi*, and the protected cruiser *Svietlana* were sunk by torpedoes on the night of the 27th or the morning of the 28th. The Japanese pursuit never rested.

*The Russian Wreck.* One by one, the Russian vessels were sunk or captured. The Baltic fleet never really recovered from the first crushing blow to its admiral's flagship. All the rest was headlong flight, relentless pursuit, and, finally, utter rout and destruction. Admiral Rozhdestvenski transferred his command from the *Suvarov* to the *Borodino*, where he was wounded. Then he was taken aboard the *Biedovy*, a destroyer, which was captured by the Japanese near the Korean coast, the Russian admiral being found wounded and bleeding in her hold. Admiral Voelkersahm, in command



From a stereograph, copyright, 1905, by H. C. White & Co., N. Y.

VICE-ADMIRAL KAMIMURA.

(Second in command at the battle of the Sea of Japan.)

of the Russian battleship squadron, was killed at the beginning of the fight in the conning tower of his flagship, the *Ostlyabya*. Admiral Nebogatov, with five ships, made a dash to the north, but was overtaken by the Japanese on Sunday morning off the Liancourt Islands, nearly two hundred miles north of Tsushima. One of his vessels, the *Izumrud*, escaped, but ran on a reef on Monday night, and her commander, Ferzen, landed his crew and blew up the cruiser. The other four ships under Nebogatov (the battleships *Nicholas I.* and *Orel* and the coast-defense vessels *Admiral Apraxine* and *Admiral Seniavin*) surrendered to the Japanese under Uriu and the younger Togo. Admiral Enquist, in charge of the heavy cruiser division, succeeded in escaping to Manila, where he arrived on June 3 with his three cruisers, the *Oleg*, the *Aurora*, and the *Jemchug*. The cruiser *Almaz*

and three destroyers reached Vladivostok in safety. Another Russian destroyer drifted into Shanghai harbor on June 4. For three days the wreck of Russian vessels and the dead bodies of Russian sailors were washed up on the shores of Japan. The aggregate number of the officers and men of Rozhstvenski's fleet was 18,000. Of these, but 1,000 escaped. Fourteen thousand went down with their ships, and 3,000, including two admirals (Rozhstvenski and Nebogatov), were taken prisoners.

*Japanese Naval Losses.*

"They sailed for the land of pygmies and they found a race of men."

This is the only explanation. With weak, badly equipped ships, inferior explosives, cavalry lieutenants on the decks in place of naval officers, no system of communication and no information service worthy of the name, the Russian armada went into battle with the Czar's commission signaled from Rozhstvenski's flagship: "We must have, not only a triumphant entry into Vladivostok, but must sink part of the Japanese fleet on the way." They believed they could destroy Admiral Togo. The Russian gunners maintained a much higher rate of fire than the Japanese, but the projectiles nearly always flew high or buried themselves in the sea, showing lack of experience in rough-water firing. The Japanese fleet suffered very slightly. Three of Togo's torpedo boats were sunk and about eight hundred lives lost, according to Admiral Togo's report. The battleship *Asahi* was the most frequently hit, but the *Mikasa*, Togo's flagship, lost the most,—63 in killed and wounded. Additional losses to the Japanese navy, now made known for the first time, since there is no further reason for secrecy, are: the battleship *Yashima*, sunk by a mine before Port Arthur, May 15, 1904; the protected cruiser *Takasago*, sunk December, 1904; the torpedo-boat destroyers *Akatsuki* and *Hayatori*, sunk in May and September, 1904, respectively; and the gunboats *Oshima* and *Atago*, sunk in May and November, 1904,—all before Port Arthur. By this battle, the Island Empire attains the rank of sixth naval power, and Russia becomes seventh. Despite her losses in battle, Japan, by capture from Russia, has increased her war tonnage from 220,000 to 250,000. It is reported that several of the Russian Port Arthur fleet have been raised by the Japanese and refitted for service. Besides, there are the Russian ships interned in Chinese ports and at Manila. These Japan will no doubt claim at the end of the war. The following table shows the vessels, both Russian and Japanese, participating in the battle of the Sea of Japan:

RUSSIA.

	Displacement.	Guns.	Crew.
<b>Battleships:</b>			
Alexander III.....	13,400	16	740
Borodino.....	13,400	16	740
Kniaz Suvarov.....	13,400	16	740
Orel.....	13,400	16	740
Oslabya.....	12,647	15	732
Navarin.....	10,000	12	630
Nicholas I.....	9,900	14	604
Sissoi Veliki.....	8,800	10	590
<b>Coast-defense battleships:</b>			
Admiral Oushakov.....	4,126	8	318
Admiral Seniavin.....	4,126	8	318
Admiral Apraxine.....	4,126	7	318
<b>Armored cruisers:</b>			
Admiral Nakhimov.....	8,000	18	567
Vladimir Monomakh.....	6,000	11	550
Dmitri Donskoi.....	5,900	16	510
<b>Protected cruisers:</b>			
Aurora.....	6,600	8	422
Oleg.....	6,500	12	340
Svetlana.....	3,900	6	380
Almaz.....	3,285	6	340
Izumrud.....	3,200	6	340
Jemchug.....	3,200	6	340

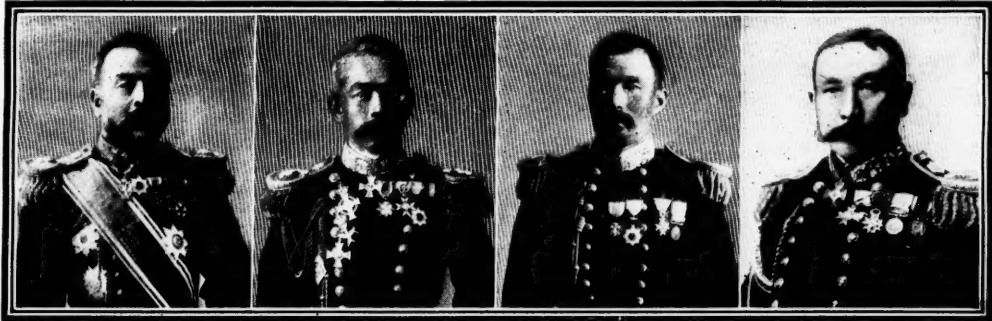
JAPAN.

	Displacement.	Guns.	Crew.
<b>Battleships:</b>			
Asahi.....	15,400	18	750
Mikasa.....	15,362	18	935
Shikishima.....	14,850	18	741
Fuji.....	12,600	14	600
Chin Yen.....	7,935	8	400
Fuso.....	3,717	6	377
<b>Armored cruisers:</b>			
Idzumo.....	9,800	18	500
Iwate.....	9,800	18	500
Yakumo.....	9,800	16	498
Asama.....	9,750	18	500
Tokiwa.....	9,750	18	500
Azuma.....	9,456	16	482
Kasuga.....	7,700	18	500
Nisshin.....	7,700	18	500
<b>Protected cruisers:</b>			
Chitose.....	4,900	12	405
Kasagi.....	4,900	12	405
Hashidate.....	4,278	13	418
Matsushima.....	4,278	13	418
Itsukushima.....	4,278	12	418
Naniwa.....	3,700	8	352
Takachiho.....	3,700	8	352
Niitaka.....	3,400	6	320
Tsushima.....	3,400	6	320
Akitushima.....	3,172	10	407
Otowa.....	3,050	8	310
Idzumi.....	2,967	8	314
Akashi.....	2,800	8	300
Suma.....	2,700	8	300
Chiyoda.....	2,439	10	306

*The Terrible Torpedo.*

It is evident that the Russians were completely outclassed, outweighed, outgeneraled, and outfought. While the consummate strategy of Admiral Togo is admitted, and the superiority of the Japanese gunnery proven beyond a doubt, the features of the battle which are causing most speculation in naval and military circles are the relative parts played by battleship and torpedo boat as bearing on the old disputed question of the relative merits of these craft. When the Russians were wearied and worn by the terrific gunnery of the Japanese battleships on Saturday, at night a





Rear-Admiral Dewa.

Vice-Admiral Kataoka.

Rear-Admiral Shimomura.

Rear-Admiral Uriu.

TOGO'S ASSOCIATES IN THE DEFEAT OF ROZHESTVENSKI.

swarm of torpedo craft, held in reserve in the rocky coves of Tsushima, came out, in the moonlight, into smooth water and attacked the crippled Russians like a swarm of hornets. With their fresh crews, they were able to put the finishing touches to the work of the heavier warships. It is also admitted by the Japanese navy department that submarines were actually used during the battle. The question of the value of these small war vessels has divided naval experts for years. Certainly, the advancement into general favor of the torpedo and the submarine has been remarkable. The Russo-Japanese war has demonstrated that the contempt felt for these little craft after our war with Spain is utterly unwarranted. At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War the torpedo was regarded with awe by laymen and greatly feared by naval men the world over. In relation to war craft of other types, and in the public mind, it held a position similar to that now occupied by the submarine. Its potentialities were believed to be tremendous.

*Torpedoes  
in Our War  
with Spain.*

While the *Oregon* was making her famous trip around the Horn, the nation held its breath for fear of her destruction or capture by two Spanish torpedo boats of the destroyer type known to be somewhere upon the Atlantic. Such a catastrophe might have come to pass had the destroyers been in the hands of enterprising, fearless, and expert men. But in the light of the fate of the *Pluton* and the *Terror*, the Spanish destroyers, the fear that they inspired was ludicrous. They were disposed of in less than half an hour, in the battle of Santiago, by the little *Gloucester*, inferior in guns, but manned as a war vessel should be manned and superbly handled. The battles of Manila and Santiago demonstrated nothing save that marksmanship and the maneuvering of vessels are es-

sentials in naval warfare. Torpedo boats were hardly a factor in the fighting; and in regard to them nothing was demonstrated save that they are useless in incompetent hands. But from the day of Santiago, public opinion, in this country, at least, belittled torpedo boats and disregarded them as a factor of danger. The younger officers of the navy, almost to a man, are firm believers in torpedo boats as a component part of our sea power, and but few of the older officers are opposed to them. But naval officers, young and old alike, fear public opinion in the matter. They know that public opinion is likely to run to extremes, and that if the public again gets an exaggerated idea of the importance and capabilities of the torpedo boat it will again bring pressure to bear in the Senate when the Navy Department asks for additional battleships, saying: "What is the use of spending \$5,000,000 on a battleship when a fleet of torpedo boats—any one of them a match for any battleship afloat—can be built for the same amount?" As a matter of fact, we need more battleships, and more, many more, torpedo boats. Both are essential, and neither can take the place of the other. We never think of putting only heavy artillery in the field because it is possible for one shell to put an entire company of infantry out of action, nor do we dream of confining our army to regiments of infantry because one man may, on occasions, possibly be able to shoot down all the men at an enemy's field gun.

*Some  
Torpedo  
Statistics.*

When present building programmes are completed, we shall be the second power in battleships.—England, 50; United States, 25; Germany, 22; France, 17. Second, also, in coast-defense ships.—Germany, 13; United States, 11; France, 9. In first-class cruisers, we will rank third,—England, 45;

France, 16; United States, 15. The accompanying table shows our position in relation to the other great powers as regards torpedo boats, destroyers, and submarines. What craft we have in these classes, however, compare very favorably with the best of any other nation. Our slowest can do 28 knots, as against England's 25, Germany's 19, and Russia's 16, while our speediest can do 30 knots, as against England's, Germany's, and Japan's 31, and France's and Russia's 35. In gun power, our boats are superior, having two 12-pounders and two 6-pounders, as against England's and France's one 12-pounder and two 6-pounders. Ours have but two torpedo tubes to England's, Russia's, and Italy's two and three. Our complement is 64 for all boats, compared with Russia's lowest, 13, and England's greatest, 72. Our destroyer with the smallest coal capacity carries 115 tons, while France's lowest is 33 tons, and Russia's, 15 tons. Our boat with largest coal capacity carries 232 tons, against England's 130 and Germany's 100. So that our destroyers are equal, on paper, to the best of other nations in almost every respect save speed, and surpass them in gun power, coal capacity, and steaming radius. France was the first to add submarine torpedo boats to her navy, having launched her first craft of this type in 1885. Our first was launched in 1896. England did not adopt the submarine until 1902, but she now counts 39 of these craft, against our 8 and France's 48. Japan is supposed to have 13 submarines of American build, and it is believed that they are to be credited with the destruction of several of the Russian ships reported sunk by mines. In the total count for torpedo boats of all classes we are at the foot of the list of the seven leading naval powers. This table (compiled chiefly from the Naval Annual for 1905, modified in certain instances by later statistical data) shows the relative position of the principal maritime nations with regard to torpedo boats (first, second, third, and fourth classes), torpedo-boat destroyers, and submarines.

	Torpedo- boat destroyers.	Torpedo boats: 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th classes.	Submarines.	Total.
France.....	59	341	48	491
England.....	142	199	39	380
Italy.....	15	143	3	161
				(Before the war)
Russia.....	83	119	....	202
Germany.....	61	102	....	163
			(Supposed)	(Before the war)
Japan.....	20	73	13	106
United States.	16	29	8	61

*"The Virtue of the Emperor."* The Japanese admiral's report of his victory, beginning with these words, "That we gained a success beyond our expectations is due to the brilliant virtue of your Majesty and to the protection of the spirits of your imperial ancestors, and not to the action of any human being," has been the subject of much comment in the press of the Western world. The attitude of the mind which could write that sentence is inscrutable to us of the Occident. But, after all, may it not be literally true and justified? The present ruler of Japan is certainly a man of most remarkable mental and moral qualities, and, beyond a doubt, one of the greatest rulers of history. His entire reign is a reflection of his great virtues. Any autocrat who in the short reign of thirty-eight years could have the moral and mental fiber to completely transform his people, yield up his special prerogatives in favor of the general good, and lift the nation over which he rules into the full light and benefits of modern progress, as the Mikado has done so modestly, so wisely, and so thoroughly, has certainly virtues which make, not only for victories in war, but for more far-reaching victories in peace. After all, Admiral Togo is correct. If it had not been for the wisdom and gracious patriotism of his Majesty the Emperor Mutsuhito in surrounding himself with such progressive spirits, and in advancing his country as he has done, not only would military victories have been impossible, but such remarkable progress in the arts of peace could not have been recorded.

*Effect of  
Togo's  
Victory.*

Admiral Togo's victory, which he has formally designated as the battle of the Sea of Japan, was so complete as to stun not only Russia but the rest of Europe. A Russian defeat had been looked for, but practical annihilation came as a surprise. Naval and military experts are calling the battle of the Sea of Japan one of the greatest—if not the greatest—of naval battles in history. Even Russia's French allies are comparing it with Howard and Drake's victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588. This comparison is really justified, since just as England's fate hung in the balance more than three centuries ago, so the destiny of Japan hung on the issue of this contest in the Korean Straits. The immediate effect on the great powers of the world had been to make them all increasingly bold in their efforts looking toward peace. The destruction of Admiral Rozhdestvenski's ships renders secure, not only Marshal Oyama's communications, but has left Russia practically without a navy of any kind and has advanced Japan to a position



REAR-ADMIRAL ENQUIST.

(The Russian commander whose ships are interned at Manila until the close of the war.)

where she becomes a world-power of the first rank. Such, in the words of the *Listok*, of St. Petersburg, is the "inevitable result, because education, good government, and freedom are always victorious over ignorance, misrule, and despotism." Comment on the significance of Admiral Togo's victory and the general triumphant advance of Japan's armies will be found in several "Leading Articles" in this number. What effect will Russia's temporary but real effacement as a great power have upon the delicate and complicated balance of international politics? Certain highly significant and even epoch-making results are already visible in some widely separated quarters of the globe.

It had been generally believed that Field Marshal Oyama was holding his hand until the naval battle had been fought in the Sea of Japan. At any rate, as soon as the echoes of Togo's guns had died away reports of renewed action on a vast scale in Manchuria became insistent. It had been generally believed, also, in the United States and Europe that an armistice would be concluded as soon as the preliminaries of peace had been passed between the two belligerents, but, although the Japanese note in reply to Russia's expressed willingness to consider peace was received in Washington on June 15, only reports of increased activity came from the bel-

ligerents in the field up to the middle of last month. For a few days before this writing, (June 20), the veil of secrecy had been dropped over Manchurian battlefields, something which has invariably happened before the disclosure of far-reaching events. The Japanese had made a large enveloping circle, and, it was reported, had practically surrounded General Linevich. While reports of the complete isolation of Vladivostok were premature, the accomplishment of this fact was regarded as a matter of daily probability. The condition of General Linevich's troops was reported as very bad. The aged commander had had serious differences with General Kuropatkin, and had demanded his recall. It was also reported that upon the reception of the news of a probable peace the Russian commander and all his generals had signed a protest to the Czar, declaring for war, and announcing that they were strong enough to advance against the enemy.

Are the Russian Reforms Real?

It is coming to be recognized by the Western world that a state of practical anarchy exists in Russia. Immediately before the victory of Admiral Togo in the Sea of Japan, it seemed certain that the reactionaries had once more gained the ascendancy, and even after the news of the terrible naval defeat the Czar's ukase conferring almost dictatorial powers upon General Trepov, who has been in command of St. Petersburg since the massacre of last January, indicated that the tyrannical tendencies of the bureaucracy had again triumphed. This glorified policeman has been made assistant minister of the interior, chief of police, and commander of the gendarmerie, with almost unlimited power. In short, General Trepov, who represents all the abuses of power that are crushing the Russian people, has been intrusted with imperial authority to continue these abuses. On the other hand, reports are constant and insistent that the Czar really intends summoning a national assembly of some kind, to be composed of two houses, one of them elective. Early in June, it was even asserted that the programme of reforms proposed by Minister of the Interior Bulygin and Minister of Agriculture Yermolov (adopted in principle last March) included the institution of a representative assembly with legislative powers but no right to discuss the budget. Important reforms are instituted in Poland, Finland, the Baltic provinces, and the Caucasus, and the press censorship is completely abolished. Such is the report. The Czar is of one mind one day, and the opposite the next, and it is impossible for the outside world to be sure of the actual

state of affairs with regard to these much-discussed reforms. Meanwhile, the agrarian disorders were gradually extending throughout the country. The peasants everywhere feel that the day of "black judgment," of "division of land," for which they have longed for generations, is at hand. They starve and suffer, while the government carries on its work of pacification in the old ways,—by the wholesale arrest of leaders, by the indiscriminate flogging of men and women, and by the indescribable outrages of Cossacks. Several zemstvo congresses had been held, one of them, at Moscow, bold enough to address the Czar with a warning. The rioting and assassination also continued,—the governor of Baku and the governor of Ufa were assassinated late in May. There is uncertainty among the Czar's own advisers, and late reports announced the resignation of Grand Duke Alexis, high admiral and uncle of the Czar, and Admiral Avellan, minister of marine. The Russian revolution proper has not yet begun. The discursive period has ended; the period of action is about to be entered upon.

What looked like an extremely dangerous situation in European politics arose last month over the demand made by Germany that, in accordance with the request of the Sultan of Morocco, the question of the future of that country be submitted to an international conference. It will be remembered that by an agreement made some time ago between France and England the latter, in return for the relinquishment of France's claims against England in various quarters of the globe, recognized the overlordship of the republic in Morocco. Since Algeria, France's province, adjoins Morocco, French interests were recognized as being paramount in the latter country, and it was agreed that France should undertake the somewhat difficult task of introducing certain much-needed reforms into the Moorish Sultan's dominions. It was also agreed that France should maintain the "open door" in Morocco. Italy and Spain subsequently recognized this arrangement between France and England, but Germany, since she is not a Mediterranean power, was not consulted. German commercial interests are not great in Morocco, but Kaiser Wilhelm, during his recent rather dramatic visit to Tangier, declared that he intended to treat the Sultan as an absolutely independent sovereign, and to preserve the freedom of German trade in the country. This, of course, was taken as a formal notice that Germany would not recognize the special position of France in Morocco. The Sultan's rejection



PLAYING WITH FIRE.

(A Dutch view of the French minister Delcassé's diplomacy in the Moroccan problem.)

From the *Hollandische Revue* (Haarlem.)

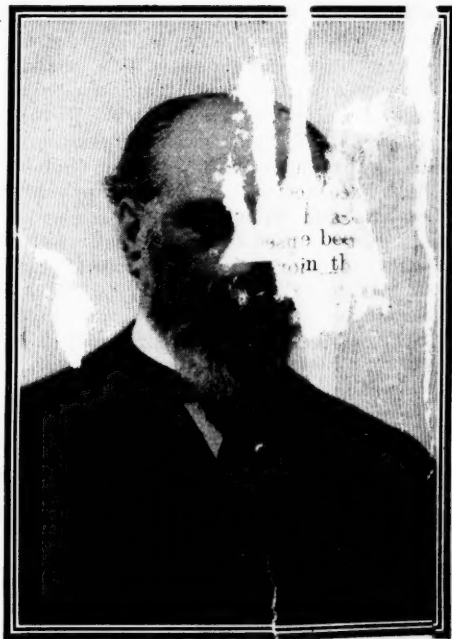
of the republic's reforms and his approval of a proposal for an international conference, together with the failure of the French mission to Fez, left but two courses open to the republic. She must either yield or formally challenge Germany and refuse the international conference. Of course, France desired neither of these alternatives. Her ally, Russia, is temporarily out of the reckoning, and were it not for the cordial understanding with England (amounting, it is now claimed in France, to a secret alliance) the republic would probably have been forced to completely back down or resort to war. As it was, M. Delcassé, minister of foreign affairs, was forced to resign, his portfolio being assumed by M. Rouvier, the prime minister. England's firm attitude in supporting France in this matter has, in effect, checkmated the Kaiser's diplomacy. For a few days diplomatic relations between the republic and her eastern neighbor were strained to the utmost, and the press of both countries was hinting at actual hostilities. With all the Mediterranean powers, including



Great Britain and the United States, approving of her position, however, France has little to fear from an international conference in the matter of Morocco. Late reports indicate that she will consent to such a conference.

*King Alfonso of Spain Goes Visiting.* Of more than ordinary interest in the way of royal junketings has been the recent tour through France and England of the youngest king of Europe, his Majesty King Alfonso XIII. of Spain. The young monarch, although only nineteen years of age, has for the past three years been actual ruler of his country. He is a manly, progressive monarch, of more than usual intelligence, and the taste of his quality which the world has so far received justifies the belief that he combines some of the greatest qualities of the Spanish race, and that perhaps fate will enable him to initiate the economic and political regeneration of his people. The civilized world rejoices in his escape from a horrible death by the bomb of an anarchist, the attempt to assassinate him in Paris, June 1. It was generally believed that the Spanish King's visit to London had for its principal object a meeting between him and the Prince of Wales, and the Prince of Connaught. The engagement of the young

people, as we noted last month, is still claimed by certain Spanish and English newspapers. At any rate, the young king was received with great ovations in both Paris and London. American and English friends of the Spanish people will regret to learn that the council of state in Madrid, after long consideration of the edict against bull-fighting on Sunday, issued some months ago, has authorized the resumption of this sport on Sunday on the ground that it is an art. They will also regret the alarming condition of the Spanish labor situation, owing principally to the increasing emigration, which seriously affects the future of the country, in view of the vast extent of cultivable land in the kingdom which now lacks tillers. This is principally due to the weight of taxation, which makes it difficult for an ordinary laborer to subsist. Spanish labor conditions in one way have been bettered during the past few years, the number of labor unions having increased from 69 to 373, with a present membership of 57,000. There are many hopeful signs, however, not the least among these being the frugality of the people, resulting in a surplus in the treasury. There are many indications that after a century of revolutions, civil wars, and general commercial prostration the Spanish people are awakening to possibilities of national greatness. It should be said in passing that the government of Madrid will act in strict accord with France in the Morocco affair.



COUNT VON RADOLIN.

(German ambassador at Paris, who is conducting with France the delicate negotiations over Morocco.)

*Increased Tension in Austria-Hungary.*

Following upon a long period of bitter discussion, the Austro-Hungarian crisis appears to be entering upon the stage of action. The appointment, on June 18, by Francis Joseph, in his capacity of King of Hungary, of General Baron Geza Fejervary as premier of Hungary indicates that the policy of compromise and conciliation represented by Premier Tisza has come to an end. The appointment of this military strong-man, who does not belong to the majority party, while, as yet, strictly constitutional, has aroused great bitterness among the Hungarians, who have no confidence in his personality, and who regard his appointment as the first act of the Emperor-King toward an open absolutism and a military dictatorship. Some weeks ago, the Hungarian Diet presented an address to the King urging parliamentary reform, the extension of the franchise, reform in taxation, economic independence, and the authorization of the use of the Hungarian language in the army. The appointment of Baron Fejervary is the answer from Vienna. The programme of the new leader, as known at present, indicates that he regards his

leadership as only administrative and transitory. He promises in no way to provoke the nation, he asks no budget, and he will not attempt to recruit or collect taxes. All he will undertake to do, he declares, is by proclamation to ask the people to pay their taxes, and appeal to the young men to render voluntary military service. So far, his leadership will be constitutional. If, however, he should attempt to enforce compliance with this programme, the cabinet would at once become unconstitutional. It is the intention of the Hungarian people to oppose passive resistance to this programme, and thus bring about its failure. If the Fejervary cabinet keeps its promises, there will be no change in the present Hungarian political situation. But Hungary expects the cabinet to violate its promises. And then?—perhaps a repetition of the stirring events of 1848.

*Colombia and  
the Panama  
Debt.*

In the shifting of diplomatic representatives in two of the most troublesome countries of South America there may be more than ordinary significance. Mr. Russell returns from Bogotá to Carácas, where he is understood formerly to have been *persona grata*; and it is not improbable that our government may cherish the hope that he may do something toward readjusting our relations with Venezuela. He is succeeded at Bogotá by Mr. Barrett, lately our minister to Panama. With the establishment of more cordial relations with Colombia there is opened an opportunity for the exercise of diplomatic activity and skill. It will be remembered that General Reyes, as the special representative of Colombia, presented to Mr. Hay, toward the end of 1903, a statement of his country's grievances on account of the recognition by the United States of the republic of Panama. Mr. Hay, in his reply of January 5, 1904, while denying that the complaints against the United States were well founded, tendered the good offices of this government for the purpose of bringing about a fair and equitable arrangement between Colombia and the republic of Panama. Among the objects to be attained he particularly mentioned the delimitation of boundaries and the apportionment of pecuniary liabilities. Both these questions yet remain open, and it is desirable that they should be finally adjusted. The United States has in them an important interest, both as the guarantor of the independence of the republic of Panama and as the representative of American creditors whose claims against Colombia, antedating the independence of Panama, remain undetermined and unsatisfied. Mr. John Barrett, when minister to Siam, became famous

as an adjuster of difficult claims, and he now enters upon his fourth important diplomatic position among the Latin-Americans. In this number our readers will find a highly instructive article from his pen on the Argentine Republic. Mr. Barrett will doubtless find at Bogotá an opportunity to be of great practical service in adjusting relations between the republics of Colombia and Panama, as well as in improving those between his own country and Colombia. It cannot be many years before the Colombians will see clearly that the nominal loss of Panama is as nothing to them compared with the substantial advantage of having their two coast lines connected by a ship canal which will be as fully theirs as ours for all practical purposes.

*The  
Vindication of  
Mr. Loomis.*

Last month witnessed the end of a painful incident in the diplomatic history of the United States, to which reference was made on page 653 in the June number of this REVIEW. This incident involved the honor of the country in the person of one who had represented it in Venezuela,—a region where it is peculiarly important that there should be confidence in the good faith and upright purposes of the United States. The country had been impressed with the efficiency of Mr. Francis B. Loomis as First Assistant Secretary of State, and was shocked to have it charged that he, while minister to Venezuela, had been engaged in transactions in connection with asphalt and other American interests that were not only unbecoming in an official representative, but otherwise culpable. The charges were conveyed to the State Department by Mr. Herbert W. Bowen, who had succeeded Mr. Loomis as our minister at Carácas, and this gentleman had come to Washington, and used every endeavor to make good the accusations. The President asked Secretary Taft to make a thorough inquiry. The result has been a complete vindication of Mr. Loomis. Secretary Taft's report having been made public by the President on June 20. Mr. Bowen's dismissal from the government service accompanied the full establishment of Mr. Loomis' innocence of wrongdoing. If it had been merely an issue between two men, it would not have been so important; but there was involved the honor and good faith of American diplomacy in a part of the world where it is increasingly necessary that we should maintain our high reputation. Every leading newspaper in South America gave full space to all the gossip and rumor that could be telegraphed from Washington regarding this Bowen-Loomis affair, and it will not be easy to remove the wrong impressions that have been given.

*Genesis of  
the Venezue-  
lan Trouble.*

The reference made by Secretary Taft, in his speech as temporary chairman of the Ohio Republican State convention, to the international controversy growing out of the alleged confiscation of the property of an American asphalt company in Venezuela has again drawn public attention to the relations between the United States and that country. The subject is one concerning which there have been many vague and contradictory reports afloat. In August last, the president of the General Asphalt Company, of which the New York & Bermudez Company, whose property has been taken, is a subsidiary concern, made a report to the stockholders, in which the case of the company, as it stood at that time, was set forth. Not long afterward, statements of a different purport, not traceable to any definite source, began to appear in the public prints, while during the past few months there has been a constant supply, proceeding, it is understood, from a Venezuelan press bureau which has been in active operation in Washington. These statements were obviously designed to produce the impression that the case had been dealt with by the authorities at Washington in a hasty and impatient spirit, and with a strong desire to use the "big stick." To those who have followed the developments of the controversy step by step, however, it is evident that nothing could be further from the truth. After the case was fully considered by the Department of State, the course,—unusual in diplomatic affairs,—was taken of referring it to the Department of Justice; and still later, after the Attorney-General had made his report, the matter came into the hands of Secretary Taft as temporary supervisor of the State Department. The case has therefore been the subject of the utmost deliberation on the part of the Washington government; and if, as we may infer from Judge Taft's speech, the position of this government with regard to the merits of the controversy has undergone no change, it must be because the essential facts on which it has acted have not been shaken.

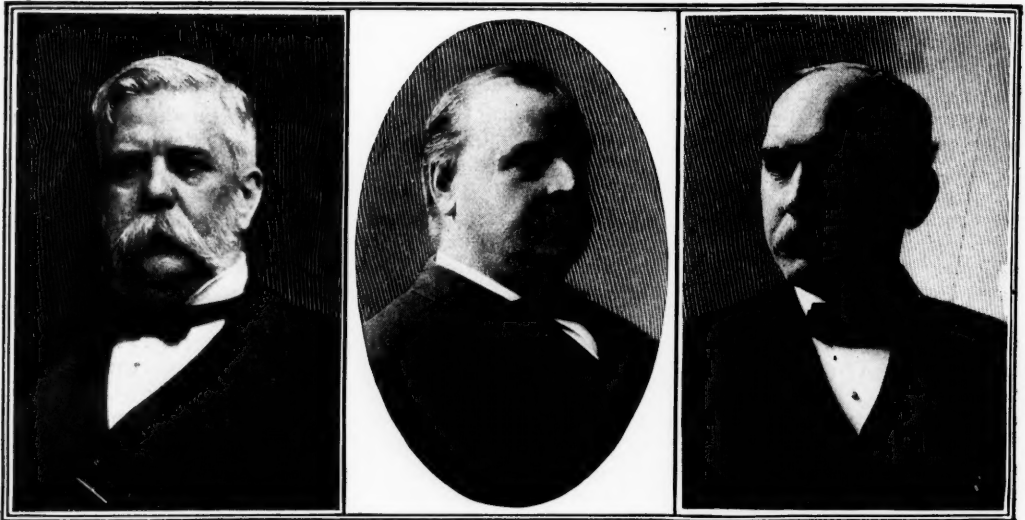
*History of  
the Asphalt  
Dispute.*

It appears that the titles of the New York & Bermudez Company run back to the year 1883, when the Venezuelan Government, with the approval of the Congress, granted to Horatio R. Hamilton, a citizen of the United States, the exclusive right for twenty-five years to exploit the asphalt and other natural products of the State of Bermudez. This concession Hamilton, in 1885, with the approval of the Venezuelan Government, assigned to the New York & Bermudez Company, a cor-

poration under the laws of the State of New York. Subsequently, in 1888, the company secured, under the laws of Venezuela, a definitive mining title for ninety-nine years to Bermudez Lake, a deposit of asphalt in the State of Bermudez, and a fee-simple title to over twelve square miles of land surrounding the lake. The first appreciable shipment of asphalt by the company was made in 1891. For several years the shipments were small; but in 1897 the output, as the result of expenditures which the company had made, was greatly increased. Prior to the time when asphalt began to be mined in paying quantities, the company appears to have had no trouble with the Venezuelan Government. But since that point was reached, and especially since the advent of President Castro, it has been constantly involved in litigation, back of which the Venezuelan Government has in one form or another always stood, for the purpose of depriving the company of the lake, either in whole or in part. Upon the merits of all the phases of this litigation we do not assume to express an opinion; we merely state the undisputed facts on unimpeachable authority. On several occasions, moreover, the company's attorneys have been imprisoned and otherwise molested; the courts concerned with the litigation have been set up and torn down; and executive decrees, as well as "judicial" processes, have been employed to deprive the company of the property it held. The company has from time to time received diplomatic support from the government of the United States; and it succeeded in retaining possession of Bermudez Lake till near the end of July last, when, by an *ex parte* proceeding, taken by the Venezuelan Government in its own name and behalf, a "depository," or receiver, was appointed for the property by the newly constituted Federal and Cassation Court. The depository is a person who was once the company's managing director at Caracás, but who afterward disagreed with the company and became associated with its competitors.

*The  
Venezuelan  
Case.*

The only ground assigned for the appointment of a depository was the alleged failure of the company to canalize or dredge a certain stream, in the non-canalization of which the Venezuelan Government, after due notice of the impracticability of the work, had for upward of twenty years acquiesced without complaint. Meanwhile, the asphalt mined by the depository with the use of the company's capital and plant is delivered to the company's rivals in business, so that the company is obliged to compete in the market with the product of what is in law still its own



Photograph by Gessford, N. Y.

Mr. George Westinghouse.

Hon. Grover Cleveland.

Justice Morgan J. O'Brien.

THE NEWLY CHOSEN TRUSTEES OF THE CONTROLLING STOCK IN THE EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

property. The price at which, according to the depository's reports to the court, the crude asphalt is sold represents practically the actual cost of mining and insurance. This would appear to leave a fine margin of profit for those, whoever they may be, in Venezuela and the United States, who divide the proceeds of the sale of the refined product. If it be true that the government of the United States has had some difficulty in regarding this receivership as a strictly "judicial" proceeding, the fact can scarcely be considered as remarkable. The people of the United States are not accustomed to receiverships which, instead of managing the property in the interest of the legal owner and his creditors, seek to destroy their business and security, while promoting interests which are disguised or concealed. The statement has often been made that the property was seized because of the company's complicity in the Matos revolution in 1902. This statement is destitute of foundation. A suit for damages appears to have been brought against the company on the ground of alleged complicity in the revolution; but this was some time after the seizure of the company's property, and had with it no connection whatever. It was no doubt upon the strength of the undisputed facts in the case that Secretary Taft declared that this government was endeavoring "to rescue the property of American citizens from what is said to be an unjust confiscation by the sovereign under color of judicial sanction;" that, arbitration

having been refused by Venezuela, the matter would be submitted to the Congress of the United States; and that the President was meanwhile exercising "all the forbearance that is due to a weaker nation."

*Panama  
Canal  
Supplies.*

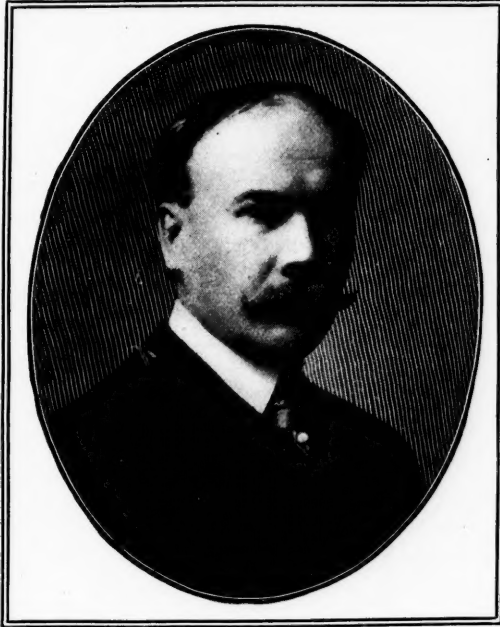
Because the Isthmian Canal Commissioners, in buying certain supplies necessary in construction work, have availed themselves of the cheapest markets, some of the ultra-protectionists have construed the commission's action as a "blow at American industries." The fact is that the commission, in the absence of any restriction by Congress, has taken the wise and provident course of seeking and obtaining, for this great government work, the most advantageous prices and terms. If steel rails can be made in this country and sold at a profit to foreigners for \$20 a ton, the commission has seen no reason for paying home manufacturers \$28 a ton. If Congress wished to have the Government pay American steel manufacturers the additional \$8 on every ton of steel rails that it has to buy, it was entirely within its power to enact the necessary laws. Congress, indeed, was asked to declare a policy in this very matter of the purchase of canal supplies, but it declined to do so. It appears that comparatively small purchases will be required between now and the next session of Congress, and the commission will doubtless be guided by the conditions in each individual case as it arises.



*Paul Morton  
Heads the  
Equitable.*

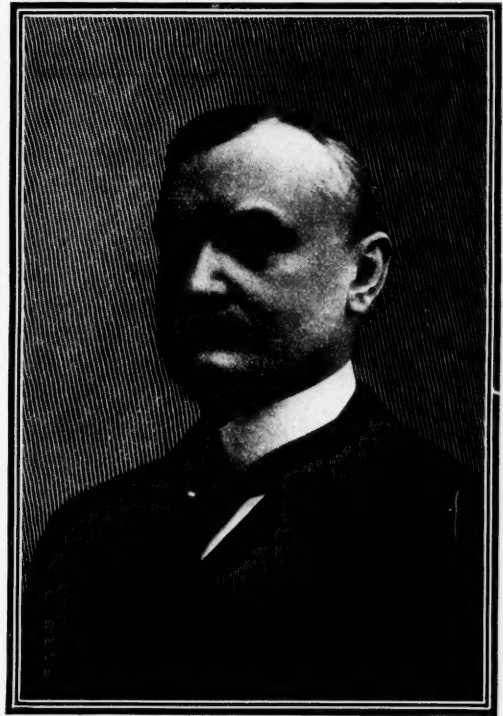
The difficulties in the affairs of the great insurance company known as the Equitable Life Assurance Society have now passed to the stage where they need not, in a practical sense, worry the policy-holders. There will come a time in the near future when we shall find it possible to obtain a perspective view of the Equitable's troubles as a completed episode; and we shall then hope to secure for our readers a reliable statement and review of the matter at some length. It is enough now to say that the company entered upon a new era in its history when, on June 10, the reins of authority were assumed by the Hon. Paul Morton, who has retired from the post of Secretary of the Navy in President Roosevelt's cabinet. Mr. Morton was appointed to the office of chairman of the board of trustees, with a vast range of power to improve in every way the carrying

tion had not become fully known as these pages were closed for the press. Mr. Morton, as the new president of the board, has meanwhile entered upon a sweeping examination, with the aid of able public accountants, into every phase of the company's business methods as of the date of June 10.



HON. PAUL MORTON.

on of the company's affairs. The resignations of the president and all the leading officers were placed in his hands upon his assumption of his new duties. It is not necessary at this time to take up the drastic criticisms of the management of the society contained in the report of a committee of the board of trustees headed by Mr. Henry C. Frick, of Pittsburg; nor can we now discuss the report of Mr. Hendricks, the New York State Commissioner of Insurance, for the reason that the results of his investiga-

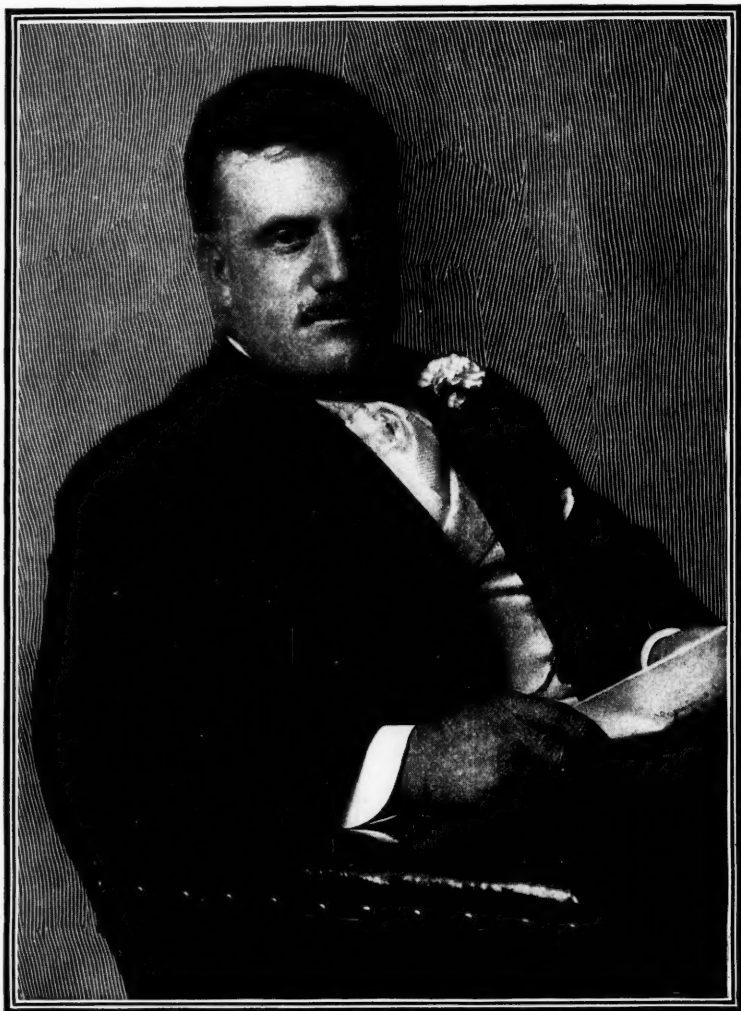


Photograph by Davis & Sanford, N. Y.

MR. THOMAS F. RYAN.

*For the  
Policy-  
holders.*

It had been a crucial question what should become of the proprietary company, with a capital stock of \$100,000. The existence of this controlling company had always made the Equitable different in form from the large insurance companies which are carried on upon the full mutual plan. The Equitable had been established by the late Henry Hyde, who kept till his death a controlling number of shares of stock in the company, and whose control had passed to his son, Mr. James Hazen Hyde, who became actively associated with the business as vice-president. The most bitter phases of the controversy had arisen over the demand of Mr. Alexander, the president, and other officers that the company should be dissolved, in order that the policy-holders might be put in authority on the mutual plan.



Made especially for the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, last month, by F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia.

#### MAYOR JOHN WEAVER, OF PHILADELPHIA.

A different result, however, has now been reached, which may prove for the time being a fairly satisfactory compromise. Mr. Hyde's controlling interest in the company, consisting of shares of stock having a nominal value of somewhat more than \$50,000, has been purchased by Mr. Thomas F. Ryan, of New York, for \$2,500,000. Mr. Ryan is prominent as one of the so-called "magnates" of the Metropolitan Street Railway system; and he, with his business associates, is about to undertake the construction of a new underground railroad system to operate in alliance with the surface lines. Mr. Ryan's purchase of the Equitable stock was at once followed by his turning it over in trust to three distinguished gentlemen,—namely, ex-

President Cleveland, Judge Morgan J. O'Brien, of the New York bench, and Mr. George Westinghouse, of Pittsburg,—this committee being authorized to vote the shares in the election of a majority of the board of trustees of the Equitable Society. It was stipulated that such trustees should be elected from the policy-holders, and wholly in the interest of those hundreds of thousands of people whose lives are insured in the society and whose interests are the only really substantial ones to be considered. It is not quite understood what benefit Mr. Ryan expects to derive from this purchase, in view of the seeming completeness with which he has divested himself of the advantages of control. The whole subject is one to which, as we have

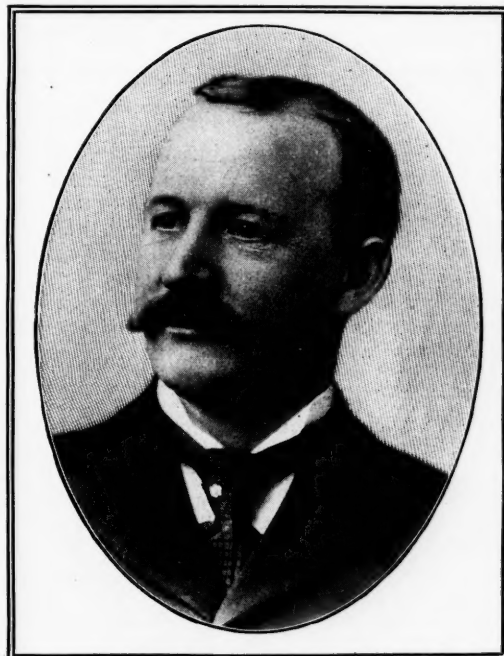
said, it will be desirable to revert in the near future with a more thoroughgoing discussion.

*The Revolution in Philadelphia.* Philadelphia has reformed. It is the swiftest and most thorough municipal revolution known in American civic annals. Without an election and without primaries, without warning and without preparation, the great deep of small householders,—which is Philadelphia,—moved from below. When the work was over, Mayor Weaver, who led the revolution, had not only changed the heads of the two executive departments, with ten thousand employees, but he was in full control of City Councils; he was recognized as the head of the city Republican party organization; he had forced the city Republican committee to withdraw the local ticket already nominated and await the choice of another ticket by the reform leaders; he had begun criminal prosecution, stopped work on contracts for filtration plants, boulevards, and highways amounting to some twelve million dollars, beginning a searching investigation by a board of expert engineers, and had defeated two grabs, one a contract for seventy-five years in gas and the other a street-car grab of one hundred and ten miles of streets, sought by the two local public-service corporations, the United Gas Improvement Company and the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company. Both had been successfully passed before this revolution broke, and both were recalled, on the demand of the mayor, by the same councils that had passed them.

*The Strength of the Local Machine.*

The coherent homogeneous vote of the myriads of small homes which make up Philadelphia has made this sweeping victory possible against great odds. The party majority in Pennsylvania and Philadelphia is the strongest in the country. The city machine is as well organized as Tammany Hall. It holds city, State, and federal patronage. For ten years it has without challenge chosen the executive officers at Harrisburg and Philadelphia and held the Legislature and Councils. The city ring, in a decade of unchecked rule, has issued \$40,000,000 of city bonds; let on the filtration plant alone \$13,660,000 of contracts; as much more on various public improvements, and had pending work authorized, but not let, costing about \$30,000,000. The criminal investigation already made indicates that on the filtration-plant contracts alone the margin of loose profit is from 28 to 30 per cent. In this period the city gas works have been leased for a term ending in 1927, on provisions which yield \$2,000,000 a year, twice the expected

profit, to the lessee, the United Gas Improvement Company. The other public-service corporation, the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, has had a free gift of a subway and over two hundred miles of street without payment and without limitation. The combination, under an antiquated law which threw no safeguards about the ballot of a venal vote controlled by machine office-holders, of the great



Photograph by F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia.

MR. ISRAEL W. DURHAM.

(The Republican ex-Boss of Philadelphia.)

corporations, railroad and public-service, and of a corrupt combination of contractors and politicians, seemed omnipotent. By the adroit use of State and city appropriations for private charities and educational institutions, the respectable were placated. The leaders of this organization were also wise enough to meet reforms non-political half-way. The last State legislature passed excellent sanitary legislation, reorganized on sound lines the city schools of Philadelphia, passed efficient child-labor laws, and at many points improved State legislation. Carefully separating political management and elected officers, the leaders of the machine chose judicial candidates usually unexceptionable, and elected as governor of the State and mayor of Philadelphia men honest, dull, highly respected, without stain, but pliant.

*Corporation  
Influence.*

In April, so far as Philadelphia was concerned, self-government seemed to have disappeared. Its charter was amended, in the teeth of universal protest, so as to rob future mayors of all powers. Senator Boies Penrose and Insurance Commissioner Israel W. Durham made all nominations, State and city. The former awaits investigation. Durham has been shown to be a silent and secret partner in a contracting firm holding \$13,660,000 of contracts, under city ordinances he passed, let by officers he chose, and yielding some 30 per cent. profit. In Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, the corporation pays the machine and the machine aids the corporation. It is like this in other States, but preëminently in that founded by Penn. After a long series of like gifts and franchises, councils voted the Rapid Transit Company one hundred and ten miles of streets, passed a costly boulevard system, and in return for \$25,000,000 intended for more contracts proposed to lease the city gas works for seventy-five years, postponing reduction in the price of gas for three-quarters of a century.

*The  
Gas-Lease  
Agitation.*

This ran the pliant fingers of the machine into the pockets of every household who had a gas bill to pay, some two hundred and eighty thousand in number. Suddenly this great mass moved from within. The pulpit of small churches knew it before the press, the little division leaders before the ward managers, and they before the chiefs of the organization. In a week, the city seethed. Children of councilmen came crying from the public schools. No one would play with them. Callous, thick-skinned politicians found their mail, their telephones, and their daily tours one hot rain of protest from their old neighbors. Division leaders reported defection by the avalanche. The small householder, the narrow burgher, comfortable, contented, owning his house, careless over ideals, education, corruption, and venal voter, was aflame over a bigger gas bill. It is the old story of ship money and stamp taxes. No vote was necessary. No primary was needed. The leaders of a political machine are ignorant of much, but they know the voice of the voter in the land. John Weaver, the mayor, chosen by the machine, and its life-long friend and supporter, had been a fair case lawyer and district attorney. Honest, narrow, clean-lived, of a legal mind, restive at the way he was treated as a mere figurehead, he recognized the civic revolution because he was himself of the class that had risen. He had, moreover, in his day won his division and was a ward leader.

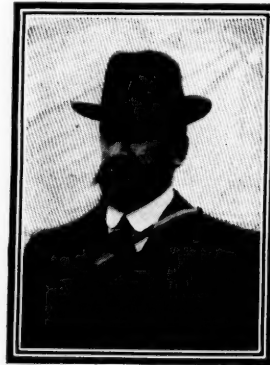
*Effect  
on State  
Politics.*

Backed by the vast mass of voters, he worked the revolution already outlined. There never was a better proof that the city citizen can be trusted to act when misgovernment is put in terms of his own personal experience. When it is in the terms of the experience of the expert, the publicist, the reformer, or the well-to-do, he is unmoved. When he sees, he acts. He loves material content. His ideals are low. He is ignorant. But once let him see, either by wise law or through injudicious spoliation, that evil is afoot and he smites without delay and without remedy. This sudden, swift revolution has awakened the State. The machine Quay left has had to put on its ticket for justice of the Supreme Court John Stewart, reformer and independent. The coming year will see a struggle for the Republican State organization, with the Philadelphia organization on the side of reform. Pennsylvania is on the brink of a great popular movement whose basis is no passing spasm, but the gathered protest of years.

*Chicago  
and  
Glasgow.*

Mr. James Dalrymple, manager of the municipally owned street-railway lines of Glasgow, who visited Chicago last month at the invitation of Mayor Dunne, pointed out important differences between traffic

conditions in the two cities. In Glasgow, the population is congested within short distances of the city's center, thus making feasible the system of graded fares. In Chicago, on the other hand, long rides, with transfer privileges, for a five-cent fare are demanded. While it appears that Glasgow gives short rides for one and two cents and carries so many pas-



MR. JAMES DALRYMPLE,  
OF GLASGOW.

sengers at these low rates, that the business is conducted at a profit, it is not at all clear that such a system could be made to pay in Chicago, where there is far less demand for short rides. In most American cities, the traffic conditions are similar to those in Chicago. Another suggestion from Glasgow's experience that had an element of novelty even to the advocates of municipal operation related to the powers of the manager, which are quite as autocratic as is usually the



case in private ownership. The manager is made responsible for the successful running of the road, and is given unlimited authority in the selection and dismissal of all classes of em-



MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

Mr. Dalrymple's advice to Chicago as to how to manage it.  
From the *Post* (Washington).

ployees. Political interference is unknown in Glasgow, but, on the other hand, tenure of employment is never assured. How can the ordinary civil-service regulations of a city like Chicago be adapted to a street-railway service? is one of the questions that is now confronting Mayor Dunne and the party in Chicago which favors the immediate acquisition of the Adams Street system.

Chicago's  
Labor  
War.

Late in May, the Chicago teamsters' strike, the most serious labor disturbance that has occurred in the first half of 1905, seemed on the eve of settlement, but the refusal of the express companies to take back their drivers who had struck in violation of contract prolonged the struggle. The lumber companies discharged all drivers who refused to make deliveries to boycotted firms and corporations, and this action threatened at one time to involve the building trades in the contest, but happily the unions in those trades voted to carry out their contracts and to take no part in the strike. Another month passed with little change in the general situation. Great inconvenience was caused to business houses and in-

dividuals, and in some cases serious loss. In the meantime, the efforts of Mayor Dunne's investigating committee, headed by Dr. Graham Taylor, were balked by the refusal of the union leaders to give testimony unless all sessions of the committee were open to the public,—a course that was deemed impracticable. As it turned out, however, the purpose of the committee was virtually accomplished through the inquiry conducted by the grand jury. This resulted in disclosures of great importance in regard to charges of blackmail, bribery, and "graft" made against labor leaders and involving certain employers. The thorough investigation made by the grand jury is likely to have a wholesome effect on Chicago's industrial life.

No Zion  
in  
Africa.

Announcement of the intention on the part of the Jews in the United States to celebrate with many ceremonies, next autumn, the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of Jewish settlement in this country comes at the same time as the report of the Zionist special committee declining to recommend the acceptance of Great Britain's Uganda colony offer. The British Government, it will be remembered, about two years ago offered the Zionist Congress an elevated tract of land two hundred miles long on the Uganda Railway, in East Africa, for Jewish colonization, the Jews to have an autonomous government under British suzerainty. This project was supported by many influential Hebrews, including the author, Mr. Israel Zangwill. The Zionist Congress sent a committee to Uganda to investigate the territory. This committee returned in March last, and it was said that while the members of the committee were impressed by the healthiness of the country they apparently were not sanguine regarding the agricultural prospects. The committee, under the leadership of Major Gibbons, an eminent explorer, now reports. It has no doubt acted wisely in declining with thanks the offer of Great Britain. It is not the natural advantages of the country to which they object. They admit these. But it is perfectly wild, without markets or any kind of civilization. It is a region for which everything is still to be done. It takes much time and men made of stern stuff to plant order, system, and civilization in such a tangled wilderness. Unfortunate Hebrews deserve a better chance. The United States of America is, after all, the real Zion of the Hebrew.



# RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From May 21 to June 20, 1905.)

## POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

May 23.—The United States Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce closes its hearings on the railroad-rate question.... Mayor Weaver, of Philadelphia, dismisses from office the directors of public safety and of public works.

May 24.—Ohio Republicans in State convention are addressed by Secretary Taft, as temporary chairman.... The officials dismissed by Mayor Weaver, of Philadelphia, are restored to office by an injunction.

May 25.—Ohio Republicans renominate Gov. Myron T. Herrick.... Mayor Weaver, of Philadelphia, secures the reinstatement of his ejected appointees.... Charles G. Magoon takes the oath of office as governor of the Panama Canal zone.

May 26.—A mass-meeting of citizens in Philadelphia approves the course of Mayor Weaver in his fight against the machine.

May 27.—In the Philadelphia gas-lease fight, the United Gas Improvement Company formally withdraws its proposition for the seventy-five-year lease.... Governor Higgins, of New York, signs the bill extending the mayor's term of office to four years and the bill transferring the power to grant franchises from the Board of Aldermen to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment.

May 29.—The United States Supreme Court affirms the validity of the special franchise-tax law of New York.... Mayor Weaver's victory over the Philadelphia ring is declared complete.

May 30.—The executive committee of the Panama Canal Commission fixes an eight-hour day for labor in the canal zone.

May 31.—President Roosevelt elects Charles J. Bonaparte, of Maryland, to succeed Paul Morton as Secretary of the Navy on July 1 (see page 35).... Injunction proceedings against the new officials appointed by Mayor Weaver, of Philadelphia, are withdrawn.

June 1.—The taking of the State census is begun in New York.... The Philadelphia City Councils unanimously recall the gas-lease ordinance from Mayor Weaver and ratify his appointment of new directors of public safety and of public works.... The president of the last Arkansas Senate is arrested for alleged bribery.

June 2.—Mayor Weaver, of Philadelphia, asks for and obtains the resignations of several city officials and fills their places with citizens who are in accord with his reform policy.... Judge Grosscup, of the United States Circuit Court, refuses to continue the temporary injunction preventing the municipal authorities of Chicago from ousting the transit companies from streets where their franchises have expired.

June 3.—Governor Higgins, of New York, signs the bill designed to abolish the Raines law hotels.

June 6.—Mayor Weaver begins an inquiry into the handling of Philadelphia city funds on deposit.

June 7.—The federal grand jury at Chicago is instructed to continue its investigation of the beef trust.

June 8.—The Attorney-General decides that the eight-

hour law applies to mechanics and laborers on the Panama Canal, but not to the railroad or office force.

June 10.—Mayor Weaver removes two "organization" magistrates in Philadelphia and appoints a non-partisan board to advise him in matters pertaining to municipal business affairs.

June 15.—The connection of "Boss" Durham, of Philadelphia, with contracts involving \$21,000,000 is shown in court.

June 16.—President Roosevelt issues an order calling for sweeping reforms in the methods of conducting department business at Washington.

June 19.—The Philadelphia Republican city committee advocates a substitute ticket in the coming elections.

June 20.—President Roosevelt directs the dismissal of Herbert W. Bowen, minister to Venezuela, for circulating unfounded charges against Francis B. Loomis, Assistant Secretary of State.

## POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

May 22.—An attempt by the opposition in the British House of Commons to force a reply to a motion of the Liberal leader causes great disorder and forces the Speaker to suspend the session.

May 23.—President Castro decrees amnesty to all Venezuelan exiles, and to political prisoners not above the grade of colonel.... The assassin of the Grand Duke Sergius is executed at Moscow.

May 24.—The treasurer of New Zealand announces a surplus of \$3,805,000 for the past financial year.... Russian Liberals establish national headquarters at Moscow.

May 25.—A manifesto of the people of Wales is issued by the Welsh national committee on education.

May 27.—King Oscar resumes the government of Sweden and Norway, vetoes the Norwegian bill for a separate consular service, and refuses to accept the resignation of the Norwegian minister.

June 3.—Gen. Cipriano Castro is reelected president of Venezuela for a term of six years.

June 4.—The Czar of Russia appoints General Trepov assistant minister of the interior, with almost unlimited power to suppress popular demonstrations.

June 5.—The Zemstvo Congress at Moscow is forbidden.

June 6.—Despite police orders, the Russian Zemstvo Congress is held in Moscow.... M. Delcassé, the French minister of foreign affairs, resigns office; Premier Rouvier assumes the foreign secretaryship in addition to his own.... Emperor William of Germany raises Chancellor von Bülow to the rank of prince.

June 13.—Premier Delyannis, of Greece, is assassinated by a gambler at the entrance to the Chamber of Deputies.

June 15.—The Czar accepts the resignation of Grand Duke Alexis of Russia.

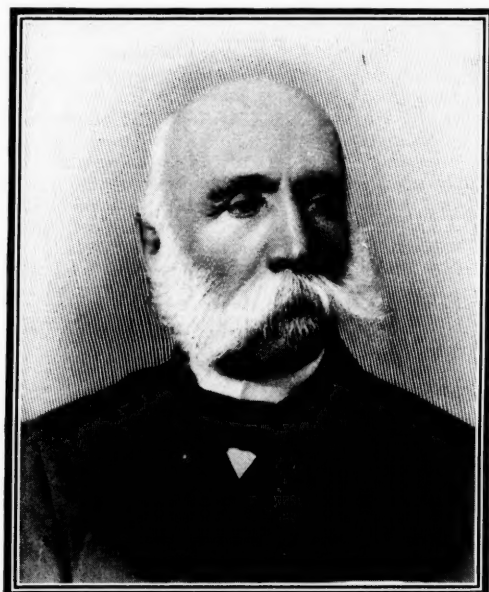
June 20.—The Spanish cabinet resigns.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

May 22.—The Hague tribunal, in the dispute between Japan and Great Britain, France, and Germany with regard to the house tax levied in Japan on the foreign concessions, decides in favor of the European governments.

May 24.—Japan accepts the decision of the Hague court with reference to the house tax.

May 27.—The Russian Council of the Empire approves the recommendations of the passport commission, including recognition of foreign passports, thus meeting the contention on discrimination against American



THE LATE THEODORE P. DELYANNIS.  
(Premier of Greece.)

Jews.... The Cretan Chamber passes a resolution again appealing to the powers to assent to Crete's union with Greece.

May 28.—King Victor Emmanuel of Italy inaugurates the International Conference of Agriculture at Rome.

June 1.—It is reported from Tangier that the Sultan of Morocco has rejected the scheme of reforms proposed by France.

June 2.—Serbia demands of Turkey reparation for the seizure of papers at the Monastir consulate.

June 4.—The Moroccan foreign minister asks the powers for an international conference on suggested reforms.

June 5.—President Roosevelt decides that the three Russian cruisers at Manila cannot remain to repair injuries received in battle, but must depart or be interned until the end of the war.... Venezuela and Colombia resume diplomatic relations.

June 6.—The Canadian members of the International Waterways Commission accept the American view,

excluding the St. John River from investigation.... The King of Spain is the guest of the King of England.

June 7.—Norway, through the Storting, declares itself separated from Sweden; King Oscar protests against the action; there is no disturbance in either country.

June 8.—Germany proposes an international conference on the Moroccan question.

June 9.—King Oscar declines to nominate a king for Norway.

June 10.—President Roosevelt's note urging Russia and Japan individually to take measures for peace is accepted by both nations.... The union flag is lowered throughout Norway and the Norse tricolor substituted.... The Russian rear-admiral, Enquist, notifies the American authorities at Manila that his damaged cruisers will be interned until the end of the war and the officers and men give parole.... Great Britain recalls her battleships from the far East, owing to the change in the naval situation.

June 11.—Sweden declines to recognize the secession of Norway from the union.

June 13.—Russia's formal reply to President Roosevelt's note urging peace negotiations is received at Washington.

June 15.—President Roosevelt officially informs Japan and Russia that Washington has been selected as the seat of the peace conference, at the request of their respective representatives.

June 16.—The Japanese minister at Washington makes public the text of Japan's reply to President Roosevelt's note in regard to peace negotiations.

June 17.—The French premier and the German ambassador at Paris confer on the Moroccan situation.

June 19.—It is announced that France and Germany have reached an understanding on the subject of Morocco.... The Norwegian Storting adopts a reply to King Oscar's letter upholding the act of secession.... The Postmaster-General of the United States signs postal treaties with Panama and Australia.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

May 27-28.—Admiral Togo completely defeats the Russian fleet under Rozhdestvenski in the Korean Straits, destroying or capturing all the Russian battleships; four of the Russian cruisers escape, three to the Philippines and one to Vladivostok; Admirals Rozhdestvenski and Nebogatov are taken prisoners, Admiral Voelkeram is killed, and Admiral Enquist escapes; 14,000 Russians go down with their ships, 3,000 are taken prisoners, and 1,000 escape; the Japanese loss is three torpedo boats and about 800 men.

June 3.—The Russian protected cruisers *Oleg*, *Aurora*, and *Jemchug* arrive at Manila, Philippine Islands, in a damaged condition.

June 16.—Field Marshal Oyama reports the occupation of several villages in Manchuria, the most severe engagement being at Liao-Yang Wo-Peng, west of the Liao River, where 5,000 Russians under General Mistchenko, with 20 guns, are driven north in confusion, suffering heavy losses.

June 20.—The Japanese under Oyama begin an enveloping movement in Manchuria; a movement upon Vladivostok is under way; Linevich reports his ability to advance.

## OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

May 23.—The Southern Industrial Parliament opens its sessions in Washington, D. C....Miss Georgiana Bishop, the American woman golf champion, beats all records at Cromer, England, finishing the first nine holes in 36.

May 24.—The Carnegie Hero Fund Commission makes its first award....The Chicago lumber companies become involved in the teamsters' strike....The Presbyterian General Assembly appoints a committee to consider the proposed cathedral in Washington.

May 26.—The Pennsylvania Railroad's new draw-bridge over the Hackensack River, near New York City, is blown up with dynamite.

May 29.—The American schooner yacht *Atlantic*, owned by Wilson Marshall and sailed by Capt. Charles Barr, wins the international yacht race from Sandy Hook to the Lizard Light for the Kaiser's Cup in 12 days and 4 hours, breaking the Atlantic record.

May 31.—The International Arbitration Conference opens its sessions at Lake Mohonk, N. Y....The Albright Art Gallery, at Buffalo, N. Y., is dedicated....An anarchist throws a bomb at the carriage in which King Alfonso and President Loubet are returning from the opera, in Paris. The occupants escape injury.

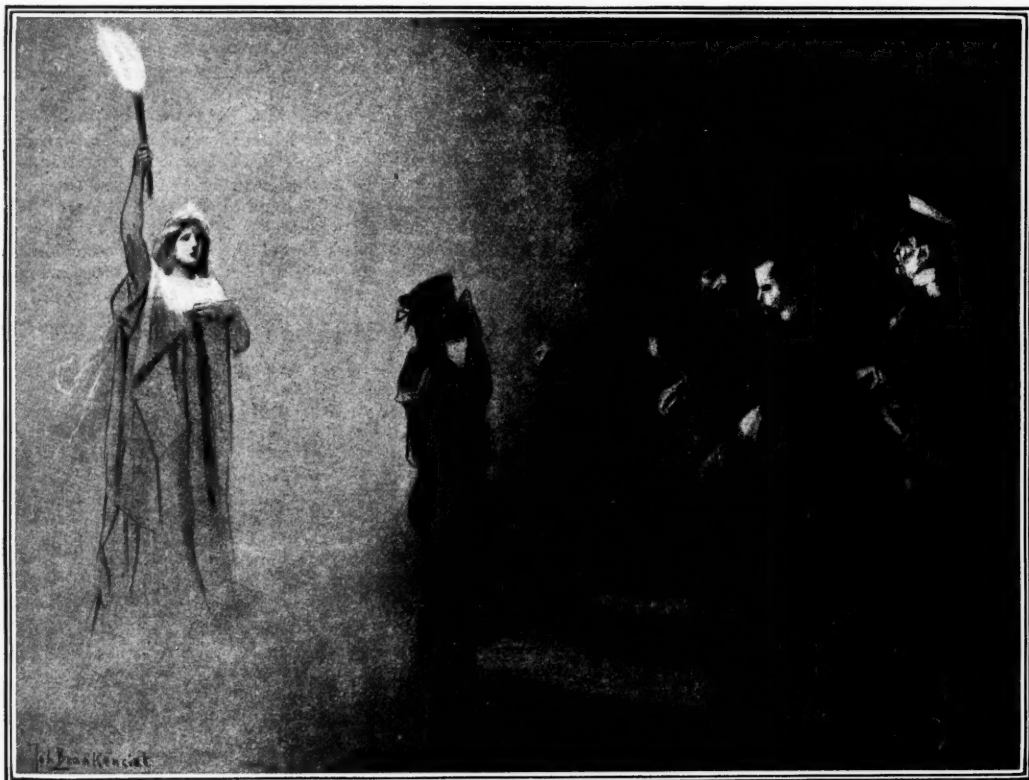
June 1.—The Lewis and Clark Exposition, at Portland, Ore., is opened.

June 2.—The report of the Frick investigating committee on the affairs of the Equitable Life Assurance Society is presented and voted down by the directors; Mr. Frick and several other directors resign after this action....A bomb is exploded in the palace of the governor-general at Barcelona, Spain, causing serious damage.

June 8.—The Pennsylvania Railroad runs a train from Pittsburgh to Chicago, 468 miles, in 440 minutes....A British submarine torpedo boat is lost while being tested off Plymouth; 14 officers and men are drowned.

June 9.—Paul Morton, Secretary of the Navy, is elected chairman of the Equitable Life Assurance Society under a reorganization, and Vice-President James H. Hyde sells a majority of his stock to a syndicate of policy-holders.

June 10.—Ex-President Cleveland, Judge Morgan J. O'Brien, and George Westinghouse accept appointment as trustees of the majority of the capital stock of the Equitable Society and the principal executive officers resign; absolute power is conferred on Chairman Morton....The corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology votes to accept the terms of alliance with Harvard University.



From the *Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam).

## THE DESTRUCTION OF THE RUSSIAN FLEET.

RUSSIAN SAILOR: "Your majesty, I come to inform you that your fleet has been sunk."  
THE ANGEL OF PEACE: "Please listen to me, now, and do not heed those other counselors."



June 11.—The Pennsylvania Railroad begins a regular eighteen-hour schedule between New York and Chicago.

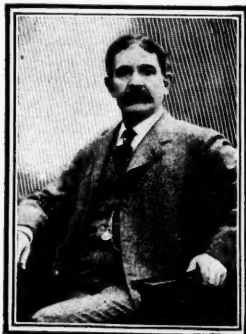
June 12.—A Lake Shore Railroad inspection train runs from Buffalo to Chicago, 526 miles, in 470 minutes....Mont Pelée, Martinique, is again in eruption.

June 14.—The annual reunion of Confederate veterans is held at Louisville, Ky.

June 17.—Twenty-three men are killed by a collision on the Western Maryland Railroad at Ransen, 28 miles from Baltimore....Rioting again becomes serious in connection with the Chicago teamsters' strike.

June 18.—Five hundred lives are lost in an explosion at the Ivan Colliery, at Khartsisk....The New York Central and Lake Shore & Michigan Southern railroads begin the running of eighteen-hour trains between New York and Chicago.

June 19.—Chairman Paul Morton, of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, orders expert accountants to make an investigation of the affairs of the society.



THE LATE WILLIAM ZIEGLER,  
OF NEW YORK.

(Generous patron of arctic exploration.—See page 43.)

#### OBITUARY.

May 21.—Judge Albion W. Tourgee, American consul at Bordeaux, 67....Ex-Justice Daniel Buck, of the Minnesota Supreme Court, 76....William E. Cramer, editor-in-chief of the Milwaukee *Evening Wisconsin*, 88.

May 23.—Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, a well-known author, lecturer, and woman suffragist, 83 (see page 34)....Richard P. White, one of Philadelphia's foremost lawyers, 78....Brig.-Gen. Alfred P. Smith, retired....Paul Dubois, director of the School of Fine Arts at Paris, 76.

May 24.—William Ziegler, capitalist and promoter of arctic explorations, 62....Charles Henry Webb ("John Paul"), the author, 71.

May 26.—Justice Charles H. Van Brunt, of the New York Supreme Court, Appellate Division, 69....Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, head of the French branch of the Rothschild banking house, 78.

May 28.—Capt. F. Norton Goddard, founder of the New York Anti-Policy Society, 44.

May 29.—Rt. Rev. Alexander MacDonnell, Bishop of Alexandria, 72....Don Francisco Silvela, former premier of Spain.

May 30.—Señor Garcia Merou, the Argentine min-

ister to Germany....A. Okolicsanyi, the Austrian minister to The Netherlands.

May 31.—Ex-Congressman John Murray Mitchell, of New York, 47....Ex-Mayor Michael D. Nolan, of Albany, N. Y., 72.

June 1.—Henry Charles Richards, M.P., a well-known English advocate of old-age pensions, 54.

June 2.—J. Montgomery Sears, the heaviest taxpayer of Boston, 50.

June 3.—Gen. Henry Van Ness Boynton, a well-known Washington correspondent, 70....The Rev. Dr. Thomas Richey, dean of the General Theological Seminary, New York City, 74.

June 4.—Dr. John William Streeter, author of "The Fat of the Land," 64.

June 7.—George W. Elkins, a Pennsylvania street-car magnate and oil operator, 77....Beriah Wilkins, owner and editor of the *Washington Post* and formerly a Representative in Congress from Ohio, 59.

June 8.—Ex-Congressman Henry F. Naphen, of Massachusetts, 58.

June 11.—Ex-Congressman George E. Seney, of Ohio....President Ralph H. Plumb, of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, 57.

June 12.—Col. William Colville, who led the famous charge of the First Minnesota Regiment at the battle of Gettysburg, 75.

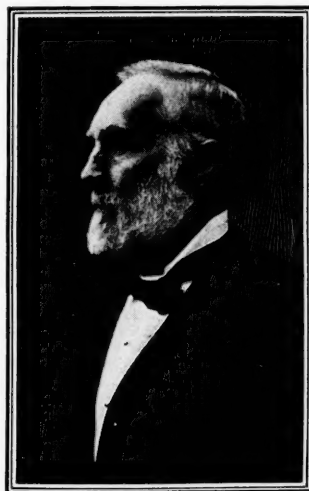
June 13.—Theodore P. Delyannis, premier of Greece, 79....Archduke Joseph of Austria, 72....Baron Nathaniel de Rothschild, of the Austrian branch of the firm.

June 14.—Brevet Maj.-Gen. Absalom Baird, U. S. A. (retired), 81.

June 16.—Sir John Archibald Willox, principal proprietor of the *Liverpool Courier*, 63.

June 17.—Gen. Maximo Gomez, of Cuba, 82....Brig.-Gen. Arthur L. Wagner, General Staff, U.S.A., 52.

June 18.—William Charles Harris, an authority on fish and fishing, 75.



THE LATE WILLIAM E. CRAMER,  
OF MILWAUKEE.

(The veteran editor of the *Evening Wisconsin*, active in his profession at the age of eighty-eight.)



# SOME NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE MONTH.



THE MAID OF THE NORTHLAND AT THE PARTING OF THE  
WAYS.

From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul).



LITTLE NORWAY: "They don't seem to recognize me."

From the *Tribune* (Chicago).



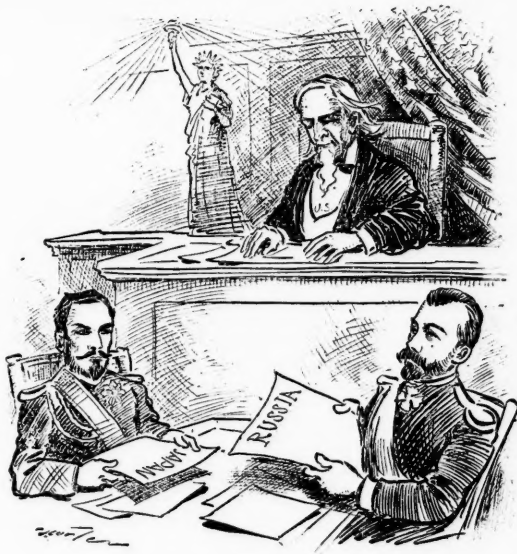
NEXT!

From the *Chronicle* (Chicago).



SWEDEN (to the powers): "Don't recognize the horrid  
creature."

From the *Leader* (Cleveland).



IS THIS THE BEGINNING?

Is Uncle Sam to be the future arbitrator of the quarrels of the world?—From the *Times* (Minneapolis).



IT'S THE LADY'S TURN.

From the *Herald* (Boston).



ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF WATERLOO, JUNE 18, 1905.

(Will the ancient traditional enmity of Frenchman and German be renewed over Morocco?)

From the *Tribune* (Chicago).



THE WORLD AS KAISER WILHELM VIEWS IT.

(Apropos of the German Emperor's recent speech, in which he said: "We are the salt of the earth; it is all ours to inherit.")

From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia).







AN ILLUSTRATED INTERVIEW WITH CHARLES J. BONAPARTE.—From the *News* (Baltimore).



THE RAILROAD SPEED WAR.

"Well, go ahead; it's your move next."  
From the *Tribune* (Chicago).



IT IS "ALL-EE SAME-EE!" TO JOHN CHINAMAN.

From the *Constitution* (Atlanta).



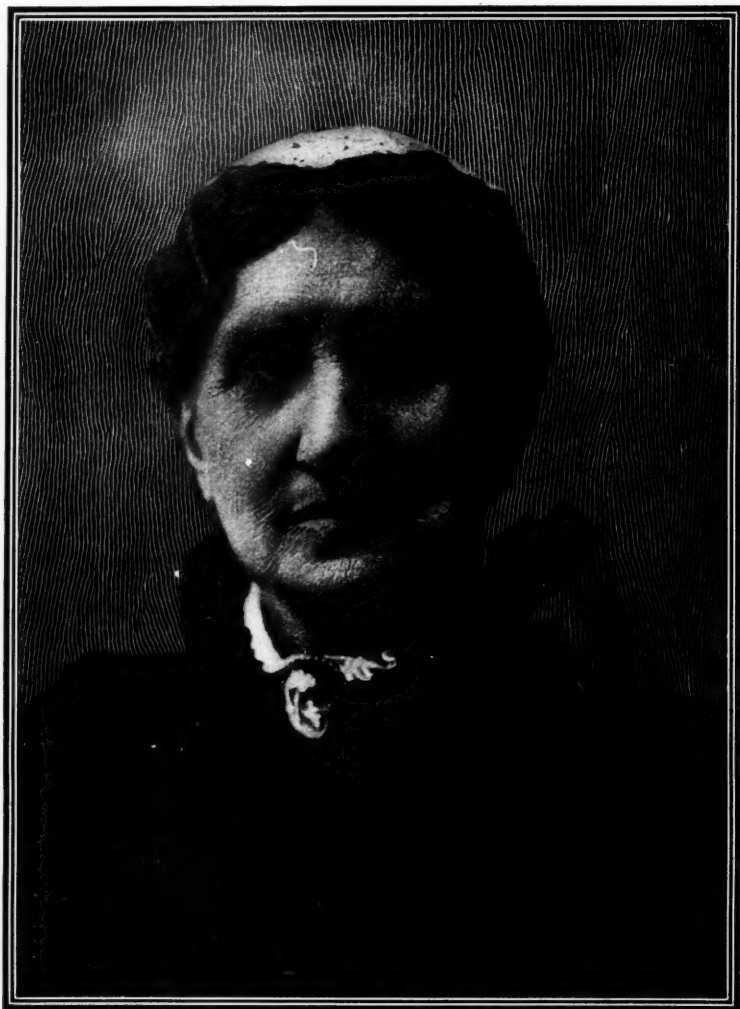
HATCHED.

From the *Constitution* (Atlanta).



A GOOD CATCH.

(Messrs. Morton and Cleveland as fishermen.)  
From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



THE LATE MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE.

Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, the distinguished lecturer and woman suffragist, who died at Melrose, Mass., on May 23, at the age of eighty-three, first came into public notice during the Civil War, when her services on the Sanitary Commission and her appearance as a public speaker in aid of the cause represented by that organization attained national prominence. Mrs. Livermore had already been active for some years in the temperance movement and in religious journalism. After the close of the war she devoted herself to the cause of woman suffrage, and her marked ability as a public speaker gained her notable success on the lecture platform. Mrs. Livermore was known throughout the United States, and her death has been universally mourned as the loss of a most attractive personality.

## A BONAPARTE AT THE HEAD OF THE AMERICAN NAVY.

IT is a common error of the newspapers, in mentioning the new Secretary of the Navy, —commenting on his famous name and the Gallic quality of his wit, the shrug of his shoulders, and the abundance of his gestures,—to speak of his French ancestry. Of course, as a matter of fact, there is not a drop of French blood in Charles J. Bonaparte's veins. His grandfather, Jerome Bonaparte, who married and deserted Elizabeth Patterson before he became King of Westphalia, was a Corsican of Italian descent, while the Pattersons were Scotch-Irish. The new Secretary's mother was a Down East Yankee, a woman of great force of character. During the Civil War she was aggressively for the Union, in the midst of Southern sympathizers, and her influence was doubtless more effective in molding this rigid moralist's character and guiding his political preferences than the quarter-strain of foreign kings in his blood.

Bonaparte first met Roosevelt in 1889, when the latter went to Baltimore to investigate some violations of the civil-service law. Not unnaturally, a friendship sprang up, for there is much that is alike in the two men. Bonaparte is a graduate of Harvard, as is Roosevelt. Each is the scion of a distinguished family who began life with a sufficient supply of worldly goods to enable him to choose his career with no thought save for the fun of it and the good that he might do. Both are reformers born, both took up enthusiastically the business of guarding the civil service, and Bonaparte has been connected with that cause hardly less prominently than Roosevelt himself. The grandnephew of Napoleon is a firm believer in a strong central government, federal supremacy being as dear to him as to the President of the United States. Neither is a specialist; each is noted for the variety of his interests, and the men are alike in the keen joy that each finds in political strife. There are points of difference, of course, but, speaking generally, the entrance of Bonaparte into the cabinet means an increase of Rooseveltism in the administration.

Since that first meeting, Bonaparte has been a great admirer of the President, and his admiration has not lessened in recent years. Here is his comment on the charge that Roosevelt is unsafe:

It is a doubtful compliment to call a watchdog

"safe;" for some people it were well to have him "unsafe," and the more unsafe the better. If thieves and tramps feel secure with him unchained, his owner may do wisely to obtain in his place an animal less discreet and less amiable.

There is something chivalric in his whole-souled support, for the new Secretary is much more of a Mugwump than his chief. He left his party to support Cleveland in 1884, and he has left it several times in municipal elections. He opposed the acquisition of the Philippines, declaring that the United States was not divinely appointed to colonize or Christianize heathen nations. His opposition, however, was upon grounds of expediency alone, and if the anti-imperialists scented an ally in him they were undeceived by his vigorous defense of the President's Panama policy.

### A REFORMER IN POLITICS.

But it is in his own city and State that Bonaparte has won his reputation as a political factor. First of all, and by nature, he is a reformer. He does not look at life through the fabled spectacles that disclose only evil, but his gaze naturally falls on the abuse yet to be corrected rather than on the good already achieved. "It must not be supposed," he said once, speaking of the public schools, "that because I speak only of their defects I am blind to their merits. I say nothing of these because, for my present purpose, they need no mention." Usually, for his present purpose, the merits of things need no mention.

Within a year after leaving Harvard Law School, Bonaparte was attracting attention as counsel for certain defeated candidates in a contested-election case. That was in 1875, and he was then twenty-four years of age. It was his first test of strength with Senator Gorman's political machine.

"I want to get, in every precinct," said a Baltimore supervisor of elections under this régime, "the weakest and stupidest Republican it contains and put him at the window with the two brightest and sharpest Democrats I can pick out,—that's the sort of a supervisor I am."

Naturally, Mr. Bonaparte's clients had been counted out, and, quite as naturally, the judges to whom he made his appeal, being the very legislators who had profited by the frauds, gave



HON. CHARLES JEROME BONAPARTE.

him no relief. But he proved the perpetration of the frauds, and twenty years later they returned to plague their inventors.

That became Bonaparte's method. He, with

the other reformers, went down to defeat in election after election, but with every election the facts were proved, and before a growing public, if not before the courts, the criminals were convicted. One year the Republicans gained control of a branch of the City Council. Bonaparte, as counsel for an investigating committee of that branch, spread out to the gaze of all men a picture of the graft infesting the municipal government. He helped organize the Maryland Civil Service Reform Association, and interested it in a branch of the work. He was prominent as an organizer of the Baltimore Reform League, and that body became a prime factor in the cleansing movement. Severn Teackle Wallis, John K. Cowen, and Bonaparte became an oratorical trio that stumped the city and State for reform year after year, always with brilliancy, always with enthusiasm, always with failure.

#### HIS FIGHT FOR PURE ELECTIONS IN BALTIMORE.

In 1895, however, the times were ripe for a revolution in Maryland. An independent press had developed. The people were ready to respond to the goading of twenty years. An impassioned campaign was waged by the reformers, and in the course of it Bonaparte was unexpectedly made a supervisor of elections in Baltimore City. The board of supervisors consisted of two Democrats and one Republican. Gross abuse of power on the part of the majority had aroused a tremendous popular outcry, and the people instinctively turned to Bonaparte as the one man able to cope with the situation. The Democratic governor was reluctant to name him, but at a great public meeting thousands of citizens jumped to their feet and demanded the appointment. Then the governor complied. He probably thought, as a less exalted official remarked, that two could outvote one and it would make little difference anyhow.

Bonaparte showed them the difference. The



election officials had all been appointed, and there was little routine work to do, but he "made things hum" for the three weeks he was in office. His first action was to move that the meetings of the board be opened to newspaper men. Two promptly outvoted one, but Bonaparte mentioned the fact and a howl went up from the press. He recommended the dismissal of certain crooked election officials. Two outvoted one, but Bonaparte showed, through the papers, how sadly immoral were the appointments. He startled his colleagues by proposing the dismissal of the board's own counsel, a tool of the ring. Two voted to retain the counsel, but Bonaparte's resolution laid bare the corrupt partisanship of the majority members. Then, on the day preceding the election, after the Democratic members had issued their perfunctory "instructions" to the election officials, Bonaparte issued some instructions of his own. He explained the law, he promised to watch for violations of it, and he supplied a vision of prison gates to intending offenders.

Exactly how much of a restraining influence Bonaparte's presence on the board exerted will never be known, but it cannot be doubted that the fact that he was there, and the implications of his instructions, held back many a weaker brother who fain would have suited the law to his own desires, but didn't dare. At any rate, the election was held, and the reform ticket was elected triumphantly in both city and State.

#### BALTIMORE'S FOREMOST REPUBLICAN.

In that twenty years' fight for the overthrow of the ring, Bonaparte was one of the three men most influential for good—and among Republicans the most influential of all. Yet his influence, for the most part, was an indirect one. There are Republicans of the Roosevelt type in Maryland who have done much good missionary work with party managers, to the end that creditable nominees were secured on the party tickets. Bonaparte has no genius for practical politics, and he hates a spoilsman, in his own party as in the other. He has flayed erring Democrats in many a campaign, but the most contemptuous words he ever uttered publicly were reserved for certain members of his own party who, after their advent to power in 1896, attempted to thwart some reform legislation. This has not endeared him to the organization leaders or conserved his influence with them. But in another and peculiar way he has done more than any other man to guide votes to the Republican column. Maryland, under normal conditions, is Democratic. It is the boast of that party that it contains 75 per cent. of the wealth and intelligence of the State.

The Republican party has always had to bear the reproach of being the "nigger" party. It has suffered under the accusation of having no capable leaders. Democrats have hesitated to vote for it on this account, even to escape the clutches of a vicious political gang. But Democratic votes are necessary, and herein is where Bonaparte has been a tower of strength. In him the Republicans have a man as well known outside the State as in it, a man of statesman-like caliber, a man whose Republicanism is a matter of ideas and not of offices. In culture, in family position, in everything, he stands fully in the class with the best the Democratic party can show. In giving the party status with thinking men, and in recommending it to voters of the opposite party, Mr. Bonaparte has been more valuable than any other one Republican.

#### AN EFFECTIVE CAMPAIGN SPEAKER.

He has also been of great use to his party as a campaign orator. He is an effective public speaker, and it is possible that Roosevelt had this in mind in inviting him into his official family circle. Those "French" mannerisms of Bonaparte's lend a peculiar piquancy to his speech, which is enhanced by the individuality of his personal appearance. Why his body sways from the hips up like rocking gear, or why his big round head wobbles from side to side like that of a child whose neck is yet too weak to bear its burden, does not appear, but they do, and his almond-shaped eyes are ever conspiring with his rosy cheeks to produce that facial contortion which is known in Baltimore as the "Bonaparte smile." He coins many epigrams, knows the worth of an illustration, and has a positive genius for unearthing happy quotations, as witness his speech of a few days ago, when, arguing against the proposed disfranchising act for Maryland, which contains a "grandfather's clause," he resurrected from Voltaire the appropriate phrase that "a good citizen needs no grandfather." And, above all, he has an unusual power of acute, direct, forceful speech. "Honest men may honestly differ," he said once, "as to protection and free trade, as to federal supremacy and State rights, as to gold currency and silver currency and paper currency, but honest men all think alike as to a free ballot and a fair count. If any man helps in, or winks at, or covers over any kind of cheating at the polls, that man is not a misinformed or misguided fellow-citizen, to be argued with and shown his error. He is a scoundrel, and should be called a scoundrel and dealt with as a scoundrel by every honest man." There can be no doubt as to the meaning of this, and it

was pertinent doctrine in Maryland at the time it was spoken. Bonaparte's power of speech has won him many triumphs, not the least of which is the tremendous, if temporary, enthusiasm of the small politicians of his own party, who love him not at other times. When this aristocrat, this grandson of a king and pattern of exclusiveness, mounts the stage and pours "hot shot" into their common enemy, the rag-and-tag element among the Republicans does not attempt to contain itself.

"Wasn't Bonaparte great?" said one heeler to another one night when that gentleman had taken occasion to say a few words for himself before introducing Mr. Roosevelt.

"Yes," answered the other, out of a full heart. "If he wasn't for civil service, I'd vote for that man for anything."

#### AS LANDLORD, LAWYER, AND CITIZEN.

Mr. Bonaparte is one of the largest property-owners in Maryland, and has probably got the business of landlordism systematized to a greater degree than any other. He is a large taxpayer, and the fact that he has usually been opposed to the party in power has not tended to diminish the size of his assessments. A firm of political real estate men once offered to secure marked reductions in his tax bills for 33 per cent. of the first year's savings. The interview was short, and they never approached him a second time.

As a lawyer, Mr. Bonaparte is envied for the extent of his legal knowledge by many a man with a better practice than himself. He has had many good cases in his regular practice, the latest being that of the Catholic University in connection with the Waggaman failure, but it is an undoubted fact, and one which it has often bothered his friends to explain, that he has not a practice commensurate with his learning and talents. One reason for this, doubtless, is the variety of his interests. Not only is he no specialist in any branch of the law, but the law itself can hardly be called his chief occupation, so great are the demands made upon his time by his public and charitable connections and his private estate. Doubtless, also, because of the nature of his investments, he has escaped much legal practice which otherwise might have come his way. Mr. Bonaparte is a wealthy man, but all of his money is invested in real estate or in mortgages. He has not a cent, practically, in stocks or bonds. He has no interest in any corporation or trust. A man of his ability, with money in such concerns, would naturally be called upon to represent them as their legal adviser. But Mr. Bonaparte is free from such alliances.

Mr. Bonaparte is a Catholic in religion,—the kind of Catholic who has habitually voted with the party to which the great majority of the members of his faith in his community were opposed. Personally, he is somewhat of a mystery. He has no intimates. He does not take his pleasures in the ways of ordinary men. He is a most charming host in his beautiful house in Baltimore County, but even those who know him best confess that they do not know him. There is a reserve about him which, after all, it is not unnatural to find in the grandchild of such a union as that of Betsy Patterson and Jerome Bonaparte, in the son of parents whose political views made them suspected of their neighbors during the Civil War, whose early political affiliations were with a political party composed largely of members openly hostile to his religious faith, in a man who might have inherited a throne.

#### AN IDEALIST OF REAL INFLUENCE.

No mere catalogue of his achievements can indicate the place Mr. Bonaparte holds in Maryland politics or the influence he exerts. Thirty years' straight thinking and right living in political affairs have bred an unfailing confidence in him so far as the primary political virtues are concerned. He has become an inspiration to young men with inclinations toward decent civic conduct. They never have any doubt as to where he will stand on any question of public morality. They know he cannot be misled by sophistries or seduced by the most subtle of bribes. In Bonaparte's long fight for reform in Maryland he has marched side by side with many volunteers. Some have had their ardor cooled by the warnings and appeals of friends, some by pressure brought to bear upon their pocketbooks. Others have capitulated to the enemy upon the gift of an office. One of the most brilliant reached a point where he had to choose between the cause of reform and the corporation which he served, and he cast his fate with the corporation. But no one has ever doubted Bonaparte. No one has ever looked to find him in the future different from what he has been in the past. Whether as a reformer ferreting out graft, as a lawyer maintaining high ethical standards among the members of his profession, as a philanthropist lending his aid to charitable endeavor, or as a publicist sounding the alarm in some question of grave concern, he has always maintained high ideals, without cant and without despair. Such a spirit will he carry with him into the Navy Department.

# JOHN PAUL JONES AND OUR FIRST TRIUMPHS ON THE SEA.

BY CHARLES HENRY LINCOLN.

(Editor of the "Calendar of John Paul Jones Manuscripts in the Library of Congress.")

OF all the men who have served the United States in her time of need, possibly none is more prominent at this time than John Paul Jones. Born in Scotland, on July 6, 1747, he began his life upon the water at the age of twelve. This seaman's life he continued with slight interruptions until his death, in 1792. The first twenty years were devoted to service in commercial vessels, an excellent training for later work, and from 1775 to the close of the Revolution he was in the United States navy, although the engagement of the *Bonhomme Richard* and the *Serapis* terminated his active service. The next few years were devoted to supervising the construction of the *America* and the prosecution of his claims in Europe for prize money won during the Revolution. In 1788, he entered the Russian service, from which he retired, broken in health, after a brilliant campaign against the Turks. He died in Paris, on July 18, 1792. This is a rough outline of the life of the man whose relations to the United States we are about to consider.

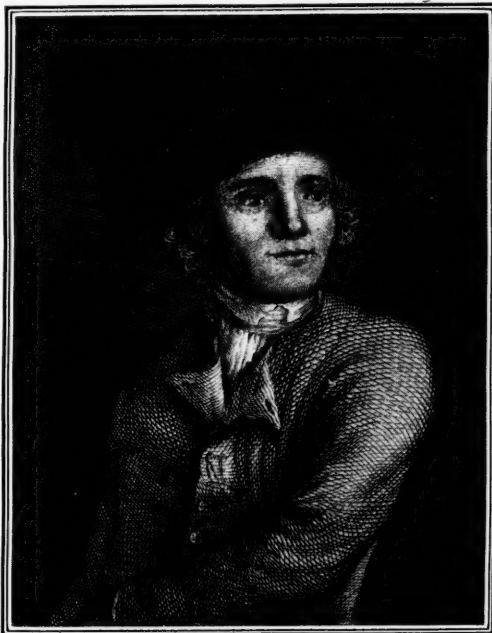
The charge is made that republics are ungrateful. In the case of the United States, examples such as those of Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, Greene and Schuyler, eminent among America's early generals, and many less prominent soldiers are mentioned. Justice, it is said, is rarely measured to the deserving. Preble's success against the Barbary

powers in 1803-1804 was followed by his supersession in command of the American navy in the Mediterranean. After more than one hundred years, the body of John Paul Jones, America's greatest naval hero of the Revolution, is being brought to "the country of his fond election."

Does this recognition of his service typify, or is it, rather, in opposition to, the earlier attitudes taken by the United States?

Jones was not the founder of the American navy. This claim, to be sure, has been made for him by certain of his biographers, but let us be just rather than generous. Omitting consideration of Colonial vessels, Congress, on October 5, 1775, appointed a committee to prepare a plan for intercepting British ships. On the 13th, a committee was appointed to fit out armed vessels, and on the 30th of the same month this naval committee reported. Two additional vessels were then ordered, and before Jones received

his commission as first lieutenant a committee had been appointed to oversee the building of thirteen frigates. It is said that a marine committee was appointed by Congress on June 14, 1775, and that on the 24th this committee directed its chairman to summon Jones for advice on naval matters, but no mention of this appointment or action is given in the manuscript or printed journals of Congress. Robert Morris, the so-called chairman of this committee, was not in Congress at this time. According to



*Sturges*

(Copied from the celebrated Gutenberg engraving.)

John Adams, Congress, four months later, was fighting over the appointment of any such committee as this. Certainly, in any other sense than that of being its first great captain, Jones was not the founder of the American navy.

#### HIS RECORD IN THE EARLIEST SEA FIGHTS.

Let us next consider the services of Jones to the navy. Here is a different story. His first efforts were made as first lieutenant of the *Alfred*, Capt. Dudley Saltonstall. In January, 1776, this vessel sailed from Philadelphia with no less a person than Esek Hopkins, commander-in-chief of the Continental navy, on board. The squadron, of which the *Alfred* was flagship, and which embraced nearly the whole Colonial navy, got to sea on February 17. This squadron consisted of the *Alfred*, the *Columbus*, the *Andrea-Doria*, the *Cabot*, the *Providence*, the *Hornet*, the *Wasp*, and the *Fly*,—the first named being the reconverted *Black Prince*, of twenty-four guns. On the night of the 18th, the *Hornet* and the *Fly* separated from the squadron in a gale. A short time after, Hopkins captured New Providence, and on April 6 occurred the engagement with the *Glasgow*, the first prominent naval battle of the Revolution. According to Jones' memorandum of this battle, the *Alfred* cleared for action at 2 A.M., and shortly afterward the *Glasgow* signaled for assistance. Hopkins was unwilling to continue the action and the *Glasgow* escaped. Evidently Jones was not satisfied in regard to this engagement, for, in a letter of May 19 to Joseph Hewes, of the Continental Congress, he urged a general inquiry into the ability of the officers of the navy, although he had earlier stated that Hopkins was generally respected.

#### UNJUST ACTION OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

Following this engagement, Jones was appointed to command the *Providence*, a position which he accepted to free himself from the jurisdiction of his late commander, but soon returned to the *Alfred* as her captain. It was when in command of the *Providence* that Congress did Jones the first noteworthy injustice, and the treatment was particularly disagreeable to that officer because of the favoritism shown. As has been seen, Jones was on the *Alfred* in January, 1776, and did good service on that vessel. Appointed to the command of the *Providence* on May 10, he maintained discipline on board that ship, made several cruises, and in October was able to report to Robert Morris a list of sixteen prizes taken, sent into port, or destroyed, in addition to doing satisfactory work as a convoy. On October 10, Congress established the rank of the captains in the navy,

placing Jones No. 18, a sufficient comment on which is the memorandum in the hand of that officer on the list sent him. It runs thus: "Whereby No. 18 is superseded by 13 men, altho' their superior Merits and Abilities are at best presumptive, and not one of them was in service the 7th day of December, 1775, when No. 18 was appointed Senior Lieut. of the navy." Is it out of place at this point to ask whether this action of Congress was an impetus to further service?

Jones' next command was the *Alfred*, as mentioned. In a six weeks' cruise, from early November until the middle of December, with a short-handed crew and a somewhat refractory companion in the *Providence*, whose commander, Jones reported, disobeyed orders and "overset the expedition," the *Alfred* captured one hundred and fifty prisoners and seven vessels, one of which, the *Mellish*, was loaded with arms, ammunition, and valuable stores very useful to the Continental army under Washington during the winter of 1776-1777.

What was the reward for this exertion? By a letter from Commander-in-chief Hopkins, of January 14, Jones was informed that he was superseded in command of the *Alfred* by Capt. Elisha Hinman. Indignant Jones was, and his indignation was justifiable, but in his letter to the Marine Committee, of January 21, 1777, wherein he criticises the appointment of Hinman, he declares he will not make "difficulties about trifles" where the good of the navy is concerned. There is little doubt, however, that Jones was, as he said at the time, "in the highest degree tenacious of rank and seniority," and that he wished to be employed in the "most enterprising and active service." This letter from Jones was answered very cordially by the Marine Committee, which body, under the leadership of Robert Morris, showed an appreciation of the great captain's ability much earlier than it could induce Congress to recognize his worth. Morris proposed that Jones proceed on a private expedition against Florida or the Canadian coasts; but as Hopkins would not assist him, this proposal came to nothing.

#### THE "RANGER'S" SUCCESSFUL CRUISE.

After repeated search for action, Jones obtained, in June, 1777, the command of the *Ranger*, and in November sailed on the first of his famous European cruises. Meanwhile he had been aiding the Marine Committee by suggestions regarding naval construction, naval strategy, and regulations to be observed aboard ships in service, which would have demonstrated his knowledge had nothing else done so, and



which Morris had no hesitancy in declaring of great service to the committee.

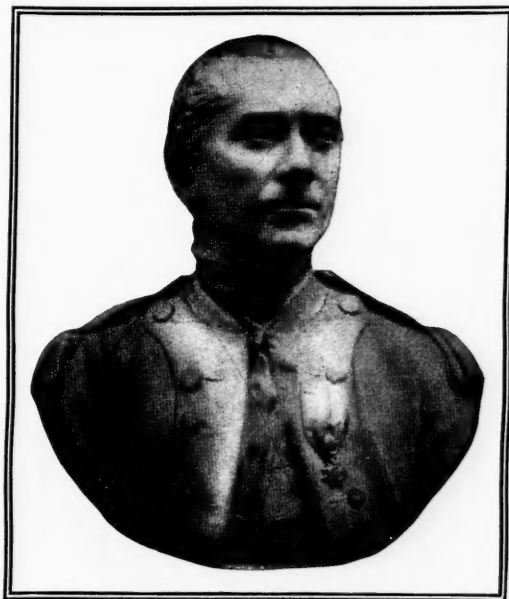
The success which attended Jones' cruise on the *Bonhomme Richard* has served to draw the attention of many from the operations of the *Ranger*. We, indeed, can spend but few words upon them. The *Ranger* reached France on December 2, 1777, sailed on her famous cruise on April 10, 1778, and in less than a month was again in port, having aroused an almost inconceivable apprehension along the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland. It was not so much that she had captured a 20-gun ship,—England had lost many a larger vessel than the *Drake* before this,—it was the effrontery of an American captain, in drawing from one of her home ports and defeating a British warship, that aroused the people. When had a hostile vessel invaded the Irish Sea before this? How long had it been since an enemy had set foot on British soil? Lookouts were established, forts were erected, troops were demanded, and the populace of England were frightened as they had not been for several generations. The British press shows this sentiment, and English vessels were prevented from landing on the frightened coasts until unmistakable proof of their nationality was furnished. Six vessels captured and a large amount of prize money were the legitimate results of this expedition, but, as Jones says in his letter of May 27 to the American Commissioners at Paris describing the whole sequence of events, "I know not where to find to-morrow's dinner for the great number of mouths that depend on me for food . . . I will ask you, gentlemen, if I have deserved all this?"

Incidentally, it may be observed that Jones paid off the crews of the *Alfred* and the *Ranger*, and, as far as the writer has been able to discover, was never reimbursed for these payments. In a letter of June 3, 1778, Jones states that he was at that time £1,500 "in advance" in his accounts with the United States, had never received wages, and, indeed, considered it eighteen months since Congress had thought of him.

#### THE "BONHOMME RICHARD" AND HER TRIUMPHS.

It was over a year before the next opportunity came to Jones. The *Ranger* had returned to France in May, 1778. Not until August 14, 1779, did the *Bonhomme Richard* leave the Road of Groa on the cruise that made her captain the unquestioned head of the American naval captains of his day.\* The story of this cruise has been told until every schoolboy is familiar with

it. An adequate idea of the disappointments and difficulties under which Jones labored before he obtained this old weather-beaten vessel and a fair-sized crew will never be obtained until the correspondence of that captain with the French Court, the United States Marine Committee, and the American Commissioners at Paris has been read and digested. At best her crew lacked harmony, as, indeed, did the commissioned officers; the ship lacked proper



JOHN PAUL JONES.

(From the original bust by Houdon, in the possession of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia.)

armament, and any spirit of confidence in their cruise came to the men from the character of their captain more than from any or all other sources.

Neither is there room at this time to enter into an account of the character of Peter Landais. It seems undoubted that with Elijah Hall, or any of a dozen officers who might be named, not only the *Serapis* could have been captured more easily, but well-nigh the whole group of merchantmen under her convoy captured or destroyed. The opinion of Benjamin Franklin is shown in the following extract from that statesman's letter to Landais, dated March 12, 1780: "I think you, then, so imprudent, so litigious and quarrelsome a man, even with your best friends, that peace and good order . . . are, where you preside, impossible . . . If, therefore, I had twenty ships of war in my dis-

\* Capt. Nicholas Biddle, the only rival of Jones, had been killed in the explosion of the *Randolph*, at the time of her engagement with the *Yarmouth*, March 7, 1778.

position, I should not give one of them to Captain Landais." Franklin was a good judge. The writer finds no reason to dispute his ruling. A testimony to the valor of Jones and his crew may, however, be found in the fact that Captain Pearson, of the *Serapis*,—a ship in good condition,—was knighted for his gallant defense. What, then, shall be said of the victor in this battle?

#### JONES HONORED BY FRANCE.

The fright produced in England by this adventure had had no parallel for years. United with the excitement caused by the loss of the *Drake*, it terrified the coast towns of Great Britain. Every unknown squadron sighted was thought to be Jones with a new fleet bent on the destruction of some port or the defeat and capture of some British ship. France saw in America a power not lacking in ability on sea as well as land, and the alliance between the two nations was strengthened. The King of France presented Jones with a sword, he was granted the Cross of Military Merit, and was offered a captain's commission in the French navy. The first two honors were accepted, but Jones refused to leave the American flag. In America the greatest enthusiasm was aroused, and Congress, after some delay, recognized the merit of the great commander. For over a year bickerings as to the command of the *Alliance* continued, and Jones was unable to secure any adequate vessel until 1781. In February of that year, Congress called upon him to answer a list of forty-seven questions regarding his conduct during the last four years, and not until February 27 was a resolution appreciating his bravery in the contest with the *Serapis* passed. In this resolution Congress declared its willingness that Jones should receive the honors conferred upon him by the French king,—a strange method, indeed, to wait for France to act before doing anything on its own initiative. On April 14, 1781, Congress thanked Jones for his services, and, finally, in June, resolutions for the construction of the ship-of-war *America* and the appointment of Jones to her command were passed. As John Adams wrote him, "The command of the *America* could not have been more judiciously bestowed."

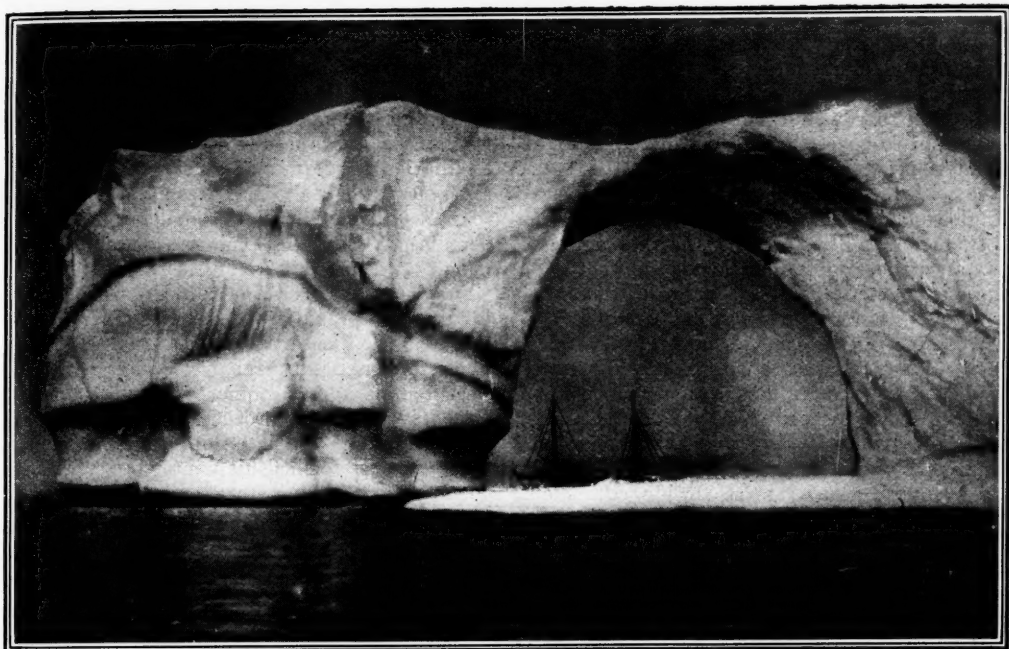
#### NEGLECTED BY HIS OWN GOVERNMENT.

Jones was destined never to command this vessel in active service, although overseeing her construction most carefully. In 1782, France lost a fine ship, *Le Magnifique*, in Boston Harbor,

and Congress, on September 3, resolved that the *America* be given the French king as compensation for the vessel lost. In fact, if not in name, Jones ceased his service under the American flag after his great work on the coast of Britain had been performed. What reward other than this nominal one has his country conferred upon him? In October, 1787, Congress voted Jones a gold medal, to be obtained in Europe, but to the day of his death, in 1792, his accounts with the United States were never settled. He was allowed to serve in the French navy. He served gallantly as rear-admiral for Russia in her war with the Turks, but he obtained no settlement of his just dues from the country he served most. For years his heirs secured nothing, and not until 1848 was approximate justice done. In 1834, indeed, an act was passed by Congress and approved by President Jackson, providing that a warship should be built and named for the great commander. This ship was not built at the time, and not until 1862 was Jones' name on any United States vessel. In that year a small steamer of six guns was so named. She was sold in 1867, and again, until 1898, Jones was not represented in our navy. During that year the construction of the torpedo-boat destroyer *Paul Jones* was begun, and she remains at this date in the service.

#### HONORS LONG DEFERRED.

Buried with great honor in Paris in 1792, fifty years passed before the movement for the reinterment of the bones of our first great sea-fighter in American soil was begun. But the movement of 1845 came to naught. A further period of sixty years passed before the honor of a burial in the land he served so faithfully was given to Jones. This delay was due to no lack of appreciation of the work of the American captain. Years passed before the location of his tomb in Paris was known. Meanwhile, biographers and historians gave him high place in their writings. Novelists used his personality to lend additional interest to their tales. With the discovery of his burial-place came the effectual sentiment for paying additional honor to America's great naval hero of the Revolution. Under the leadership of Gen. Horace Porter, American ambassador to France, whose tireless efforts had made possible the realization of the nation's wish, the movement for the reinterment of Jones' body in his own land became irresistible. Awakened and encouraged by her leaders, America does herself honor in honoring her first great naval commander, John Paul Jones.



AN ICEBERG IN THE FAR NORTH.

## FOR THE CONQUEST OF THE POLE.

BY P. T. M'GRATH.

THERE is a strange fascination about the Arctic regions. Year after year, century after century, the struggle between man and nature is continued there. One country or another keeps up the fight, and slowly but surely the standards are pushed forward, each leader outstripping his predecessors; and the daring, resolute minds of many lands are attracted to this weird region of endless ice, wherein is enshrined the one great prize that now remains to reward the venturesome pioneer of geographical discovery. Meanwhile, the world waits with anxious interest for the news their ships bring home, as all too often it is a tale of tragedy and death which comes from the frozen waste. During the past century 4,000 human lives, 200 ships, and \$100,000,000 have been lost in fruitless efforts to reach the North Pole, and there may be disaster yet to chronicle before the conquest is achieved, if, indeed, it ever is. This season there will be four expeditions operating within the Arctic Circle,—Fiala's and the Duke of Orleans' in Franz-Josef Land, Amundsen's in Boothia Land, and Peary's in Greenland.

Fiala and Peary are both Americans, and American interest in the subject is naturally keenest over the men striving to plant "Old Glory" at the apex of the globe; which interest is stimulated by the fact that both stand an excellent chance of regaining for the United States the distinction of "farthest North," even if they fail in their larger aim. Lockwood, of Greely's expedition, carried the Stars and Stripes to 83° 24' north in 1882, a record not broken until 1895, when Nansen reached 86° 14' with the Norwegian colors. Cagni, of Abruzzi's party, made his way to 86° 33' in 1900, and Italy's banner now floats nearest the Pole, Peary advancing his flag to 84° 17' two years later. The United States seems destined to gain whatever laurels are to be obtained from the present season's work, and possibly the honor of again leading in the van of poleward progress.

### THE WORK OF BALDWIN AND FIALA.

Fiala's expedition is really a continuation of that of Baldwin in 1901-1902. This had as its chief Evelyn B. Baldwin, previously of the

United States Signal Service, a member of Peary's expedition of 1893-1894, of Wellman's in 1898-1899, and chosen as one of Andree's ill-fated balloon party in 1900, but left behind because the car would not contain four. Its financial backer was the late William Ziegler; of Brooklyn, N. Y., a millionaire manufacturer animated with the patriotic desire to have the star-spangled banner the first to fly at the Pole, who set aside one million dollars for this purpose. The expedition was the best equipped that ever entered the Arctic Circle. Three ships were secured for it, and practically unlimited supplies,—concentrated foods, canned meats, vegetables, fruits and cereals, coffee carried in the form of lozenges, emergency rations such as armies have adopted, and even fifty tons of prepared dog food, these to be used on the great march north, when every pound in weight and every inch in space would count. The scientific equipment was complete. It included small balloons with releasing devices for depositing records when the ground was reached; buoys with records to be submerged and whirled south by the currents; electric searchlights for signaling; wireless-telegraph apparatus, and a variety of other accessories of the most modern type, besides the standard scientific instruments for meteorological,

astronomical, geodetic, and other work invariably carried on in the Arctic regions.

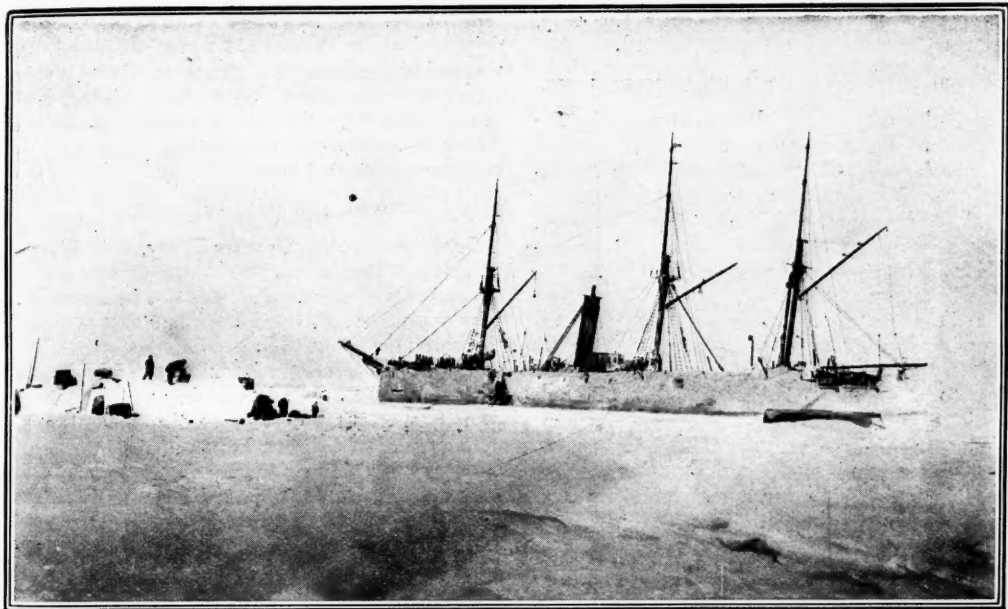
The expeditionary steamer was the *Esquimaux*, the largest of the Newfoundland seal ships, refitted and renamed the *America*, with two Norwegian whalers, the *Frithiof* and the *Belgica*, as auxiliaries, the former as consort to the *America*, carrying extra coal and stores; the latter going to East Greenland, where she made a depot of supplies, in case the explorers should be compelled to return that way over the ice-floe. The *America* and the *Frithiof* left Tromsø, Norway, in July, 1901, for Franz-Josef Land, which Baldwin regarded as the best starting-point for a polar venture. At Archangel they got 320 Siberian dogs and 15 ponies, with 6 expert Russian drivers, thence proceeding to Alger Island, in latitude  $80^{\circ} 24'$  north, longitude  $55^{\circ} 52'$  east, where he established his winter quarters. The *Frithiof* unloaded her stores and proceeded south, leaving the *America* harbored, with the dogs and equipment ashore, portable houses erected, and the detail of duties being carried out. The personnel comprised 42 souls,—17 Americans, 6 Russians, and 19 shipmen, mostly Norwegians. Game was plentiful, and several tons of bear and walrus meat were accumulated, the former for the men and the latter for the dogs. With



AMERICAN WHALING STATION, AT CAPE HAVEN, BAFFIN ISLAND.

(Established about twenty years ago by New Bedford whalers, now the property of Potter & Wrighton, Boston.  
Photograph taken by the Dominion government expedition to Hudson Bay and northward, September, 1904.)





DOMINION GOVERNMENT STEAMSHIP "NEPTUNE" IN WINTER QUARTERS, AT FULLERTON, NORTHWEST COAST OF HUDSON BAY, MARCH 1905.

(Eskimos engaged building snow-houses in the foreground. Vessel surrounded by a three-foot wall of snow.)

this base beyond the eightieth parallel, Baldwin intended to push forward with his ship, or over the ice, exploring the adjacent region for uncharted land masses which would supply stationary points insuring him against the disadvantages of an advance across the shifting ice, and from the farthest north of these he would, the next spring, make his dash across the crystal fields for the Pole. In this he would employ about twenty-five men as a vanguard and reserve, the flying column pushing rapidly ahead, and the transport train following with the heavier supplies. Numerically, the party would be strong enough to overcome otherwise serious obstacles, while the quantity of supplies to be carried by 320 dogs and 15 ponies would put the possibility of disaster almost out of the question. A team of six or eight dogs should drag a sledge with 1,200 pounds' weight 50 miles a day if the going was good.

With this elaborate programme, and the knowledge that the Duke of Abruzzi, with a much smaller party, attained a northing of  $86^{\circ} 33'$ , Baldwin confidently anticipated making the Pole. And, as in that segment of the Arctic Circle he might find himself, in returning, obliged by ice and currents to head for the Greenland coast, which reaches to  $83^{\circ} 27'$ , or 180 miles nearer the Pole than his base, he planned that

if he should be swerved westward by the tides, it would be easier to reach that shore. There he would find musk-oxen to eke out his supplies, and journey down the east coast to where the depot was made by the *Belgica* for him.

But, as often happens in polar work, Baldwin's hopes were blasted, dissensions rent his party asunder, his dogs perished by the score, and after a futile attempt to get north he and his whole party returned to Tromsø in August, 1902, while the *Frithiof*, which had sailed for Alger Island a month previous with additional outfits and for news of him, had to retreat owing to the unbroken ice-pack.

Mr. Ziegler replaced Baldwin with Anthony Fiala, of Brooklyn, who sailed from Tromsø on June 23, 1903, in the *America*, accompanied by ten Americans, and intended to practically follow out Baldwin's plans. The *Frithiof* made two attempts in 1904 to communicate with her; but failed to break through the ice-pack, and this season the *Terra Nova*, another powerful Newfoundland sealer, has been dispatched, in company with her, on a like endeavor, the *Terra Nova* going to Alger Island, and the *Frithiof* to East Greenland, so that the expedition may have a chance of rescue if at either point. Fiala's party included thirty-five, all told, of whom twelve are Americans, and it is probable one

portion will be found standing by the ship, wherever the remainder may be located.

#### A FRENCH EXPEDITION FROM FRANZ-JOSEF LAND.

The Duke of Orleans, doubtless fired by the achievement of the Duke of Abruzzi, has secured the *Belgica*, and proceeds north from Franz-Josef Land this summer; also, he has obtained the valuable services of Lieutenant de Gerlache, who was in charge of the Belgian Antarctic expedition of 1897-1899 in the same ship. The duke will attempt a northern passage by a new channel, though this is not unattended with danger, owing to the force with which the ice-pack is driven south by the strong currents. It was owing to this cause that the *Eira*, of Leigh Smith's expedition, was sunk off Cape Flora, and that the *Stella Polare*, the Duke of Abruzzi's vessel, was also pierced by the ice-pack. The *Belgica* is provisioned for a two-years' sojourn, as she may be caught in the floe. Her personnel includes a Norwegian crew and a party of French scientists, and, with favorable conditions, it is hoped to reach a higher northing than the Italian prince attained. The estimated distance from the Franz-Josef group to the Pole is about six hundred miles, and, with favorable conditions, the journey could be accomplished in seventy-five days.

#### THE MAGNETIC POLE AND THE NORTHWEST PASSAGE.

A strange expedition is that of Raold Amundsen and six other Norwegians, which started for Boothia Land, Arctic America, directly north of the extreme western side of Hudson Bay, in the summer of 1903, to seek the magnetic pole, in a small but stanch whaling sloop, the *Gjoa*, fitted with a gasoline engine, capable of driving her at a speed of five knots, as an auxiliary. Amundsen had already gained some experience as an explorer, having been a member of the Belgian south polar expedition of 1897-1899, and deliberately chose the *Gjoa* because the waterways he would have to navigate were narrow and shoal for the most part, and therefore necessitated a handy craft, which, in turn, called for a small crew. His intention was to operate in the region where for centuries men thought the northwest passage, and while the locating of the magnetic pole was his prime object, he intended to push for the geographical pole, and also for an outlet *via* Bering Strait. The latest news from this expedition was a sealed record attached to the cenotaph on Beechy Island, where Franklin wintered with the *Erebus* and the *Terror* in 1845, which was found by the Canadian expedition, in the steamer *Neptune*, on

August 15, 1904. It states that Amundsen's ship had been there on August 26, 1903, and was going through Peel Strait on its way west. Amundsen planned to spend three winters amid the ice, and it is thought possible that he may make the northwest passage and come out next summer by way of Bering Strait.

#### PEARY AND THE "ROOSEVELT."

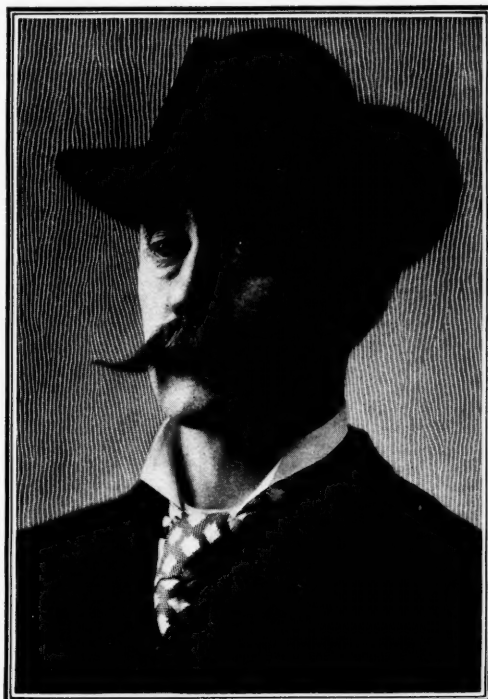
Last, but not least, comes Peary, with his new ship, the *Roosevelt*, essaying another venture from the Greenland zone. There is not in Arctic history any more striking figure than that of Peary, the embodiment of the resolute, masterly American spirit now revolutionizing the world. He has spent over a decade warring with the forces of nature in that desolate solitude, and a peculiar touch of brightness is added to the otherwise gloomy picture by the fact that his courageous and devoted wife has braved its loneliness with him, enduring the terrible winters there, and seeing their baby girl draw its first breath in their far-northern home. Peary has made Greenland his theater of operations; exploration there has, by common consent, been left to him alone. Almost every summer since 1891 has seen him invade the frozen wastes on new discoveries bent. Eight long winters, too, without a glimpse of the sun for six months each time, has he labored in the land of the ice.

He is forty-eight years old, and has given his prime to this work. He has spent his own private means, and his wife has given hers; and they have both taken to the lecture platform to raise funds to help him on, while once he had to exhibit his ship in Atlantic seaports to obtain enough money to complete her stores. The United States Navy Department, in which he is a civil engineer, now ranking as commander, has granted him the leave of absence necessary to pursue his researches; but he has enjoyed no financial aid from the Government. He has had to plan his expeditions, finance them, and then carry them out. Latterly, however, some wealthy friends have undertaken the fiscal part, thus relieving him of one of the greatest worries that must vex an enthusiastic soul.

For Peary is an enthusiast, though his enthusiasm is tempered with sagacity and prudence. He feels that he can win, and is undismayed by obstacles. He has lived among the Eskimos, adapted himself to their primitive conditions, subsisted on walrus blubber and other "delicacies," and faced every discomfort the civilized being finds associated with his human antithesis. Nor is this the worst,—Peary has endured rigorous hardships, physical torture, and serious disablement. His whole Arctic career has been a

long record of gallant battles against distressing misfortune. After a flying trip to Greenland, in 1888, to test his theories, he took his first expedition north in 1891, and the steamer's wheel-chain snapping as she struck the ice, the end broke his leg. He was landed on a stretcher, camped in a tent, supervised the building of a house, allowed the leg to knit during the winter, and the next spring, with only one companion, and without accident, made a 1,300-mile journey over the ice-cap that covers Greenland, reaching its farthest coast-line, the first white man to view its northern extremity. In 1893, he took up a larger expedition to follow the same route and continue on toward the Pole. That autumn the Peary baby was born in their hut, on the west Greenland shore. The ensuing spring the northward march was begun, but frightful storms beset them from the start, and they had to retreat, after struggling against the weather for two weeks. Some of the party were frosted and others dispirited, returning by the relief ship that summer; but Peary, Lee, and Henson resolved to make another attempt. This they did early in 1895, and succeeded in the journey across the ice-cap; but from lack of food could go no farther, for starvation had them at death's door. They escaped by eating their dogs; out of forty with which they left they brought back only one.

In 1896, Peary tried to carry to New York the great meteorite at Cape York, the largest in the world; but his ship was forced away from



Photograph by Boyce, Washington.

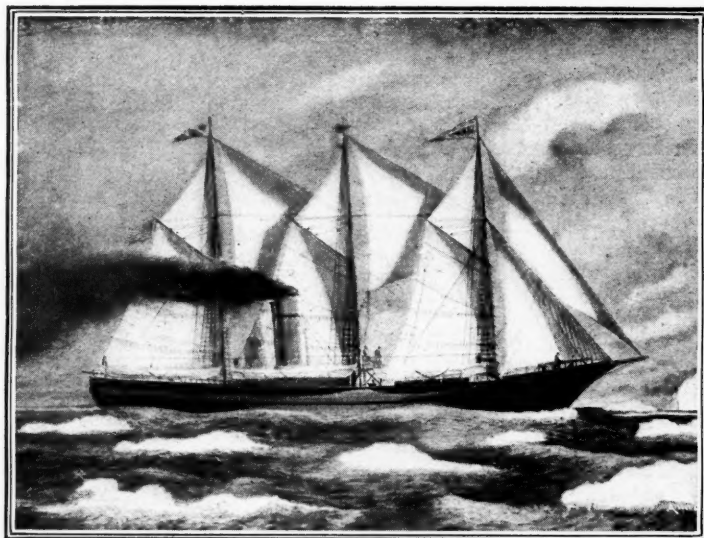
COMMANDER ROBERT E. PEARY, U. S. N.

the Greenland coast by ice and storm. He tried again in 1897, and this time succeeded. In

1898, he began a new siege of the Pole, and in a long and toilsome march, was caught by a blizzard and held helpless for two days and nights. The little group killed a dog and ate it; but Peary's feet had become frosted, and Dr. Dedrick, then of his force, had to amputate seven toes. To do this even roughly they were forced to shelter in Greeley's deserted station, Fort Conger, Lady Franklin Bay, and there the invalid lay helpless for six weeks. Then he had to be dragged south for 250 miles on a sledge, with the temperature 50° below zero, to his ship, the *Windward*, for the operation to be perfected, as the surgeon had no proper instruments north. This involved another six weeks' illness,



ANNIVERSARY LODGE, PEARY'S ARCTIC HOME.



THE "ROOSEVELT," PEARY'S NEW ARCTIC SHIP.

and spoiled an advance toward the Pole in 1899. But in 1900 Peary was well enough to start again, and this time journeyed to the very northernmost tip of Greenland, in  $83^{\circ} 27'$ , whence he ventured on the floe and headed for the Pole. He reached  $83^{\circ} 50'$ , where the ice was found too open for safety, so he had to fall back again. He utilized the reverse to delimit the whole northern coast-line of Greenland. In 1901, an advance over the same route being useless, he started for Cape Hecla, the farthest point in Grinnell Land, west of Greenland, and took his departure therefrom. But the fates were still unpropitious. The season was an unusually open one, and he had once more to retire baffled.

In 1902, he, Henson, and eight or ten Eskimos tried this trip again. He had sixty dogs for his sledges, and eighty tons of walrus meat for the canines, besides ample stores of food for the humans. The party hurried forward, sending back the Eskimos one after another as the stores were exhausted, until Peary and Henson—the white—and the black American were left to make the last stage of the journey alone. In that journey Peary and Henson made their way as far as  $84^{\circ} 17'$  north latitude, northwest of Cape Hecla, the farthest point of Grinnell Land, beyond which an advance was found to be impossible, and the idea of further progress had to be reluctantly abandoned. Peary planned to be 60 days on this journey, 40 in advancing and 20 in returning; but it occupied only 29 in all. Peary then made his way south to Cape Sabine, where a relief ship met him in August and

conveyed him back to New York.

His present expedition, which will be his seventh, is being made in a large and powerful steamer—the *Roosevelt*—specially constructed for him the past winter at Bucksport, Maine. In her he expects, if favored with an open season, to reach a point near the Polar Ocean itself, or 400 miles farther north than he usually gets by vessel. Four pole-seeking vessels have already reached that vicinity, though none of them was in any way as well fitted for the task as the *Roosevelt*. On her he will transport north a tribe of Eskimos, among whom he has worked for twelve years, and with the picked men of the

tribe, each driving a dog team, he proposes, next February, to make a dash for the Pole, dropping team after team to return as its stores are exhausted, and meeting these again on his backward journey as they come toward him with renewed supplies of provisions. A feature of the present expedition is that he has the ship fitted with Marconi's wireless telegraphy, and hopes to be able to communicate with New York by its agency, an innovation which, if successful, will enable the world to learn of his movements from day to day.

That Peary stands a splendid chance of making a new record is admitted by all students of polar research, for he enjoys the advantage of the aid of the Eskimos, the best dog-drivers and the finest travelers on the frozen Polar Ocean. However, Fiala's expedition may have accomplished some substantial work the past two years, and got nearer to the Pole than any predecessor; but if not, Peary will probably be able to report "farthest North" when he returns, in a year or two. He has leave of absence for three years, and should he not be able to get as far up toward the polar basin this season as he hopes, he will wait where he reaches for another twelve months, and then try again. By attaining the northing he hopes for, he will be spared the long journey of 400 miles along the coast he has previously had to make to reach the uttermost point of land, and thence dash across the floe, and it is obvious that every mile nearer the Pole he gets his ship the shorter will be the journey on foot which he must make to achieve a new record.



# ARGENTINA: THE WONDERLAND OF SOUTH AMERICA.

BY JOHN BARRETT.

(Formerly American minister to Argentina and to Panama, now minister to Colombia.)

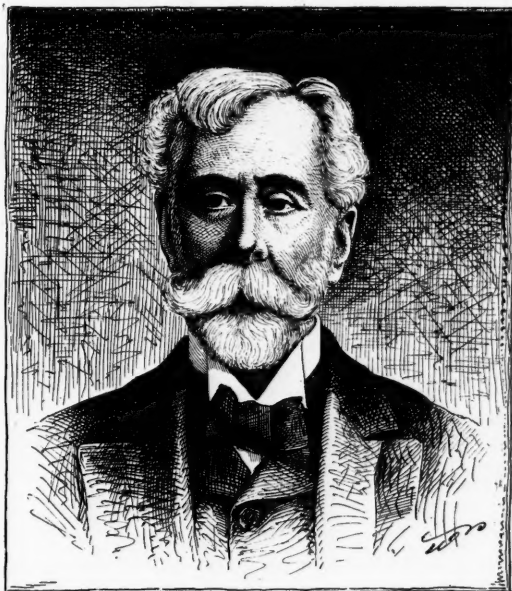
AT this time, when there is so much discussion of South American countries and affairs, it may be of particular interest to take a passing glance at the great republic of Argentina. I say "great" advisedly and in no sense of flattery or exaggeration. It deserves this description in many respects.

Argentina is so far away to the south of the United States and so apart from the regulation routes of North American travel that only a minimum percentage of our people realize that in the southern end of the western hemisphere there is a nation of such size, resources, possibilities, and progress that it is entitled to the attention and respect of the world. I would that it were in my power to divert a small part of our travelers for pleasure and observation from Europe and Asia to South America, and particularly to Argentina, Chile, and southern Brazil. A diversion of study and investigation of this kind would exert a mighty influence in educating the North American people to a realization of the fact that we should devote more time and energy to making the intimate acquaintance of our Latin neighbors. It would demonstrate how ignorant many of us are of what Latin America can do and is doing under favorable conditions of temperate climate and national wealth. It might teach some critics of Spanish America to remove the "beams" from their own eyes before they point out the "motes" in those of their southern neighbors.

The marvelous material, economic, educational, and social development of North America has blinded the eyes of a goodly proportion of its citizens to an appreciation of what is going on beyond its borders. They often rant about European interest in South America and European effort to surpass us in the competition for South American trade and friendship without remembering that European nations, merchants, and travelers know far more about South America than we do and expend treble our effort to build up closer relations of commerce and comity.

## ARGENTINA'S VAST COMMERCE.

A summarized statement of some facts about Argentina confirm these premises and conclu-

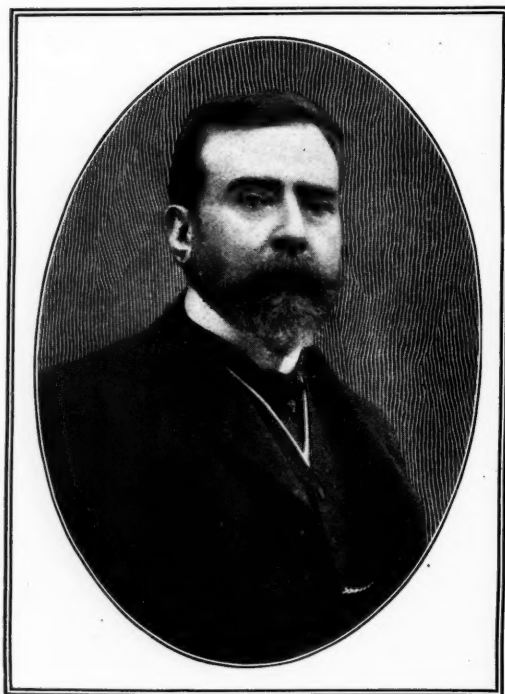


PRESIDENT MANUEL QUINTANA, OF ARGENTINA.

sions. The Argentine Republic, as it is commonly called, is to-day one of the most prosperous and progressive countries. Its foreign commerce for 1904 reached the immense total of \$451,463,000 in gold. This was greater than that of any other Latin nation, not excepting Mexico and Brazil. It exceeded the foreign trade of Japan, of whose marvelous progress we now hear so much, and it went far beyond that of China, concerning which there is general discussion. In other words, Argentina, with only 5,000,000 people, showed a buying and selling capacity in excess of Japan with 40,000,000 people, and China with 400,000,000! My comparison is no reflection on these latter countries, and I have always been an earnest advocate of the importance of our commercial and political interests in the far East, but these should not overshadow or hide what we have at stake in South America.

That Argentina is moving ahead with prover-

bial leaps and bounds is proved by the fact that her foreign commerce, the best thermometer of a country's prosperity, increased \$90,000,000 in 1904 over the total for 1903, which was \$360,000,000. Estimating her population, as before



SEÑOR EPIFANIO PORTELA.  
(Argentine minister to the United States.)

stated, at 5,000,000, she has in the present total of \$451,463,000 the remarkable average of nearly \$90 per head, or a far greater average than the United States or any of the principal European countries. If this lusty young giant of South America keeps progressing at this rate, it will be difficult to estimate her trade and wealth when she has a population of 25,000,000. Unfortunately for the United States, our trade exchange with Argentina ranks fourth among foreign countries, or after Great Britain, Germany, and France.

#### THE GOLDEN EGG OF TRADE.

This sad story is told in these figures: Total exports and imports exchanged with Great Britain, \$100,962,000; with Germany, \$54,448,000; with France, \$47,705,000; with the United States, \$34,687,000. It might be said that there is an element of satisfaction in these returns, in that Argentina bought twenty-four

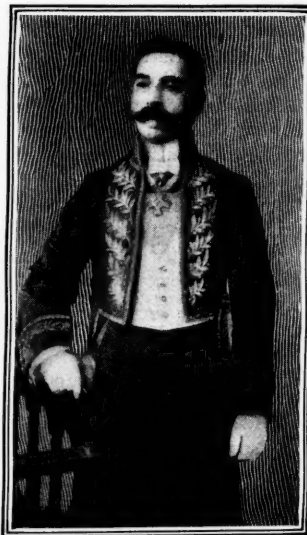
million dollars' worth from us, while we purchased only ten million dollars' worth from her, but that is a selfish view.

If the United States would negotiate a new commercial treaty with Argentina, giving her some advantages that could not seriously injure our home industries, she would not only sell far more to us, but buy from us in still greater proportion. We cannot expect to kill the goose that lays the golden egg and hope to find it still laying more eggs in our big basket of foreign trade, upon which we depend so much to provide markets for our surplus agricultural and manufacturing products. Argentina sincerely asks us to practice the golden rule, which works both ways! The present rule is not golden, at least for her in custom-house figures, although it must be admitted that North American agricultural implements and other machinery have been powerful agencies for the development of her rich lands and resources.

#### HER GREAT AREA AND TEMPERATE CLIMATE.

The immense area of Argentina can be easily appreciated by remembering that if a line were drawn from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico just west of the first tier of States on

the Pacific side of the Mississippi, Argentina would equal all the country to the east thereof. It covers, approximately, 1,200,000 sq. miles, of which a larger proportion is adapted to the homes of a progressive race than the corresponding territory in the United States. A most important fact, however, that too often is unappreciated in the northern hemisphere, where the south and South America are usually syn-



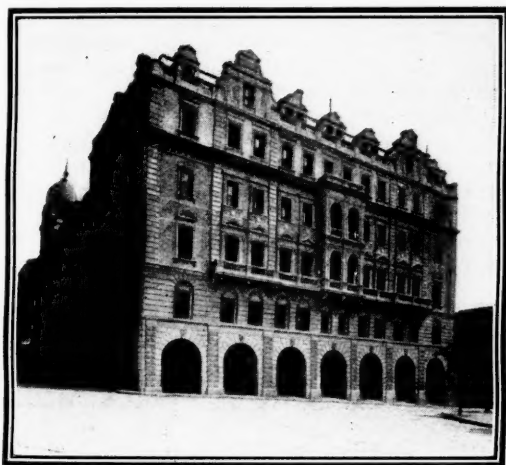
SEÑOR CARLOS E. ZAVALIA.  
(First secretary of the Argentine legation at Washington, and for six months, prior to the arrival of Señor Portela, *chargé d'affaires*.)

onymous with heat, is that Argentina is located almost entirely in the temperate zone, and is distinctly a "white man's" country in the usual

acceptance of that term. It reaches from 22° south (like Cuba, north of the Equator) to 55° south (like Montreal, north), and has every variety of climate known to the United States without such sudden or radical changes. It extends from 55° west to 70° west. The greatest length is nearly 2,000 miles,—equal to the distance from Mexico to Hudson's Bay; its greatest width is about 900 miles, but it narrows or tapers down in the Patagonian end in contrast to its broad reach in the north, between Brazil and Chile.

#### THE OLD AND NEW PATAGONIA.

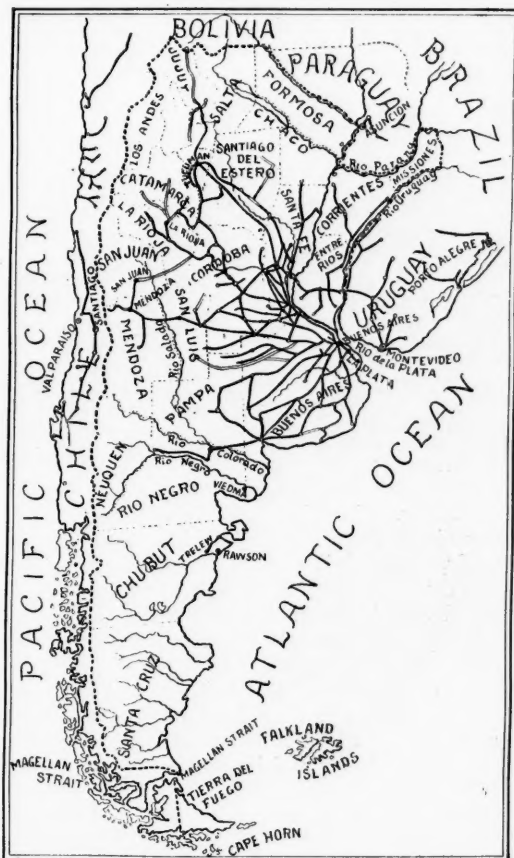
This reference to Patagonia leads me to emphasize the fact that the Patagonia of my boyhood school days is not the Patagonia of to-day. Then it was a *terra incognita*, a synonym for everything that is remote, wild, and impossible of access. Now it is divided into territories like those of certain portions of the United States, railways are making it accessible, cattle are grazing over its pampas, settlers are popu-



OFFICE BUILDING (IN BUENOS AYRES) OF ONE OF THE ARGENTINE RAILWAY SYSTEMS.

(The Argentine metropolis is a great railway center.)

lating its valleys, and miners are hunting for the riches of its mountains. There are yet large sections of Patagonia that are practically a wilderness, and much of it is arid and forbidding, but its gradual development is not unlike that which has characterized Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona. When irrigation is applied on an extensive scale to Patagonia, and the iron trail conquers its plains and uplands, it may become as populous and rich as many of our States of the Great Divide.

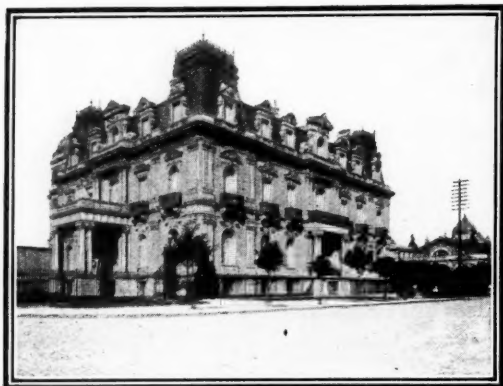


MAP OF ARGENTINA, SHOWING RAILWAY SYSTEMS RADIATING FROM BUENOS AYRES.

#### THE NETWORK OF RAILWAYS.

Argentina boasts of splendid railway facilities. It has now nearly 20,000 miles of trunk lines. Numerous new roads, branch routes, and feeders are being constructed or planned. It is possible to reach almost every portion of its wide area within forty-eight hours of the capital, the great city of Buenos Ayres. The rolling stock is built in North American style. Capacious and comfortable coaches and sleeping-cars carry passengers to all points. The stations in the big cities compare favorably with those in similar towns of the United States.

The transcontinental trains that convey travelers across the broad pampas and climb the Andes to connect with the road on the Chilean side are solid and vestibuled, with up-to-date dining-cars. The tourist or business man can now go from Buenos Ayres, on the Atlantic, to Santiago in Chile and Valparaiso, on the Pacific, in seventy-



RESIDENCE OF A WEALTHY ARGENTINE GENTLEMAN IN THE FASHIONABLE SECTION OF THE CITY OF BUENOS AYRES. COST, \$1,000,000.

two hours. There is a break in surmounting the summit at 15,000 feet elevation, between rail-heads, but that is crossed in a few hours either in a coach or on horseback. The scenery is so grand and impressive that any discomforts are entirely forgotten. In a few years a tunnel will be completed at the expense of the Chilean Government through the Cordillera, and then the globe-trotter can step into his palace-car at Buenos Ayres and not leave it until he reaches Santiago, the gay and interesting capital of progressive Chile.

The building of this network of railways over Argentina has had two excellent effects,—one, to make successful revolutions almost impossible,

as the government can send troops without delay to any point; and the other, to provide shipping facilities for the products of every section. Electric lines have been constructed in the principal cities, and these are being extended into the country districts. The major portion of Argentina is one vast plain, which renders railway construction easy and economical. It is also drained by the great River Plate system, with its navigable rivers reaching far into the interior and furnishing additional facilities of transportation.

#### ESTANCIA LIFE IN ARGENTINA.

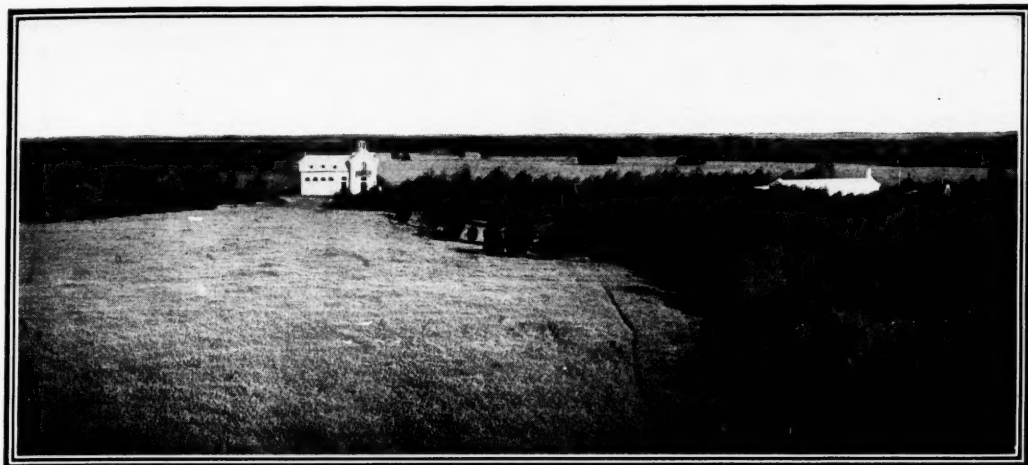
This fair land of the south has a remarkable development of country life that surprises Americans. A considerable portion of the agricultural and grazing area of the republic is cut up into immense estancias, or ranches, owned mostly by wealthy Argentines, who reside in Buenos Ayres during the winter and upon the farms in summer. Some of these estancias include within their limits 300 square miles, while those of 20 and 40 square miles are common. The stranger at first stands aghast when his host, a wealthy *estanciero*, calmly tells him that he has grazing upon his broad pampas 60,000 sheep, 40,000 cattle, and 10,000 horses! Again, when the hospitable owner takes him for a little morning gallop to one corner of his farm, and he finds that to reach that corner he must ride hard for five or six hours from the house, which is usually located at the center of the estancia, he begins to realize what farming means in Argentina.

The hospitality dispensed at these estancias



"CAMP," OR GRAZING COUNTRY, IN ARGENTINA.





THE ESTANCIA, OR HACIENDA, OF A RICH ARGENTINE GENTLEMAN, SHOWING CHARACTER OF LAND AND BUILDINGS.

makes life on them fascinating to the visitor. The house is usually roomy, cool, and comfortable, and situated in a picturesque spot where trees, flowers, and fruits abound. As Argentine men do not believe in race suicide, and as their families usually contain several beautiful daughters, there is always abundant social enjoyment for the male guests. There are also handsome sons, who carefully entertain any visitors of the fairer sex. A man could travel overland horseback for a thousand miles in Argentina and never get beyond the pale of these attractive homes of the pampas.

#### THE METROPOLIS OF SOUTH AMERICA.

Having taken a trip into the interior, let us now have a passing view of Buenos Ayres. Here is a city of 1,000,000 people, nearly 2,000 miles south of the Equator and 5,000 miles south of New York, that is growing faster than any city of the United States except New York and Chicago, and can compare favorably with the European capitals in general appearance. It is often called the Paris of South America, and it is certainly different from all other South American cities in its size, prosperity, activity, and attractiveness.

It has magnificent public buildings, imposing business structures, palatial clubs, stately residences, spacious hotels, elegant opera-houses and theaters, broad boulevards, beautiful parks, excellent schools, libraries, and museums, and handsome churches. It can pride itself on its electric street-car system, its well lighted and paved streets, its telephone and electric-light facilities, and its water and sewerage works. These, indeed, are not perfect, but I know of no munici-

pality in the United States that has as good an average as Buenos Ayres in these respects. The city government impresses the visitor as most efficient, and the police force seems well trained. I saw less drunkenness, disorder, and confusion on the streets of this great capital than I have frequently noticed in New York, Chicago, and St. Louis.

I must pause here to commend the press of Buenos Ayres. The principal newspapers would be a credit to our leading cities, and are far ahead



A TYPE OF THE NEW HOTELS IN BUENOS AYRES.



BUILDING OF "LA PRENSA," THE GREAT DAILY NEWSPAPER OF SOUTH AMERICA, COSTING, FULLY EQUIPPED, \$5,000,000.

in both enterprise and appearance of the average European journals. *La Prensa*, *La Nacion*, and *El Diario* are great dailies of large circulation and powerful political influence. The home of *La Prensa* is the most complete and costly newspaper building in the world, used exclusively by the paper. It cost \$3,000,000. The *Standard* and the *Herald* are printed in English, and ably voice English interests. *Caras y Caretas* and *Gladiator* are clever illustrated weeklies.

#### A NEW RACE OF MEN AND WOMEN.

I am often asked about the characteristics of the people of Argentina. Although it might be assumed that I would speak with favorable consideration because of my experience there as American minister, I want to say in all candor that I believe Argentina is becoming the home

of a new, forceful, energetic, and ambitious race. In other words, it would seem as if the blending of the original Spanish blood with that of the other Latin races, like the Italians and the French, together with an intermingling of English, Irish, and German strains, in a wonderful climate and in a new country, was evolving a people with the best characteristics of all these. The men average large of physique, quick of action, and clever of mind. The women are graceful, bright, and possessed of a remarkable fineness of manner and spirit, and they hold into maturity their early beauty like the women of the northern temperate zone. In these descriptions I refer to the higher grades; the so-called lower classes are uniformly healthy and vigorous, with average mentality.

The statistics of 1903 showed 1,000,000 foreigners in Argentina in a total of 5,000,000. Of these 500,000 were Italians, 200,000 Spaniards, 100,000 French, 25,000 English, 18,000 Germans, 15,000 Swiss, 13,000 Austrians, and the remainder of many nationalities. The number of Americans

did not exceed 1,500, although many are coming now to go into cattle-raising and farming in the country or into all kinds of business in Buenos Ayres. English influence is very strong, especially in financial circles, with the Germans almost equally active. The Spanish language is spoken everywhere, but English is being heard more and more. These cosmopolitan characteristics make the social life of Buenos Ayres particularly interesting. Each nationality has its own club, except that, of course, the Americans join with the English, as in other parts of the world when they are away from their home countries. The total population of 5,000,000 seems small, but that is due to the former isolation of Argentina. The growth of immigration in the future will be large if the government enacts favorable laws.

## ARTICLES EXPORTED AND IMPORTED.

Correspondents in the United States were always asking me what are the main products or sources of wealth of Argentina. Her chief exports are wheat, frozen beef and mutton, corn (or maize), hides and skins, wool, live stock, linseed, hay, quebracho wood (for dyes and tanning), flour, bran, tallow, bones, sugar, jerked beef, and butter. The value of these in 1904 was nearly \$190,000,000.

The principal imports include all kinds of European and American manufactured products, as manufacturing is yet in the infancy of its development. Among these are every variety of cloth goods, cottons, woollens, silks, together with machinery and agricultural implements, iron and steel, metals, glass and stoneware, paper, chemicals and drugs, oils and paints, leather, tobacco and liquors, furniture and wooden manufactures, tinned food products, etc., amounting in value last year to nearly \$265,000,000, of which the share of the United States is only \$25,000,000. Mines and mining in the Andes are also now attracting much capital, and promise well for the future.

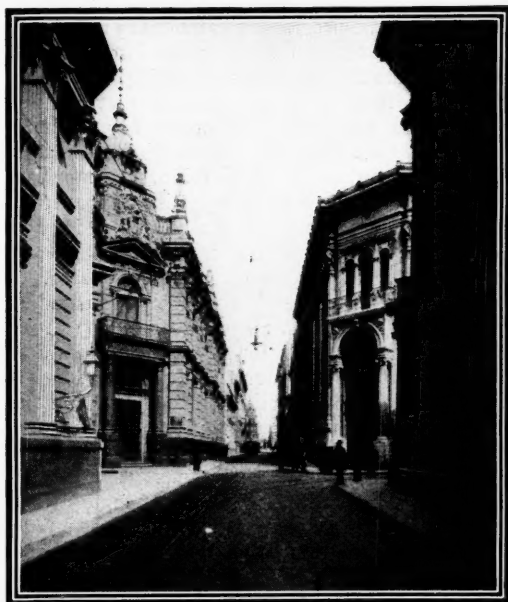
## GOVERNMENT AND STATESMANSHIP.

The government of Argentina is not unlike ours. The constitution is modeled on that of the United States, with some changes that are decided improvements. For instance, the Presi-



AVENIDA DE MAYO.

(The principal avenue and boulevard in the business section of Buenos Ayres.)



THE "WALL STREET" OF BUENOS AYRES.

(On the four corners are four banks, whose aggregate capital is greater than that of any four in New York City.)

dent is elected for six years, and is not eligible for successive reelection. That high position is now held by Dr. Quintana, one of the ablest lawyers in Latin America. He is a personal argument against the Osler theory, being nearly seventy years of age, but as vigorous in mind and body as many of his younger associates. He was preceded by General Roca, whose strong administration did much for the prosperity and progress of the republic. Two ex-presidents are still living.—Gen. Bartolomé Mitre, the "Grand Old Man" of Argentina, and Dr. Carlos Pellegrini, who ranks as one of the foremost statesmen and orators of South America. He recently visited the United States.

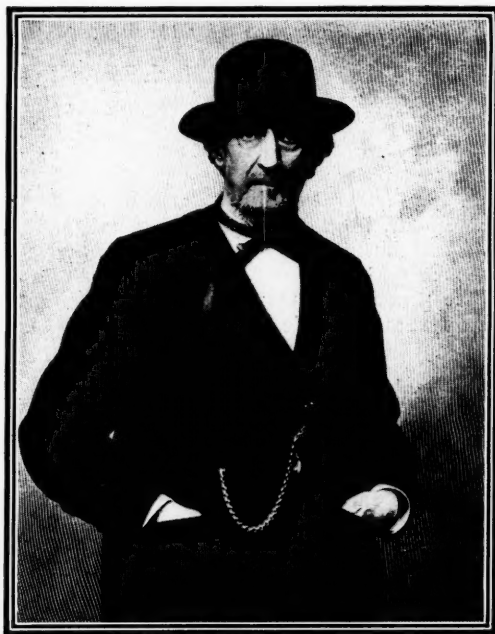
There is a Senate and House of Deputies, elected practically on the same plan as Senators and Representatives in the United States. Argentina has fourteen

states, or provinces, and ten territories. The members of the president's cabinet are not members of Congress and cannot vote, but they can appear on the floor and present their policies and measures. Buenos Ayres is a capital district, like Washington, but it has full representation in both houses of Congress, and therefore possesses a distinct advantage over the North American capital in advancing and protecting its own interests. Congress regularly meets from May to September, or during the winter months, the seasons being reversed south of the Equator.

Although Argentina has recently been undergoing a legal "state of siege," declared by President Quintana in accordance with the powers of the constitution, in order to check sporadic efforts at revolution, public sentiment and all the influence of the recent great financial and economic progress of the nation is against such uprisings and methods. There has been no successful revolution in Argentina for some fifteen years. There may come others,—in fact, I dare not prophesy on this point, remembering that a few months after I visited Paraguay, and just before I was transferred to Panama, a revolution broke out there despite the assurances of everybody I met that the day of such troubles was forever over,—but Argentina certainly deserves permanent tranquillity.

#### HOW TO GO TO ARGENTINA.

Few North Americans know how to reach Buenos Ayres, and it is almost to the shame of our vaunted enterprise that there is no first-



GENERAL DON BARTOLOMÉ MITRE.

(Ex-president of Argentina. Age, eighty years.)

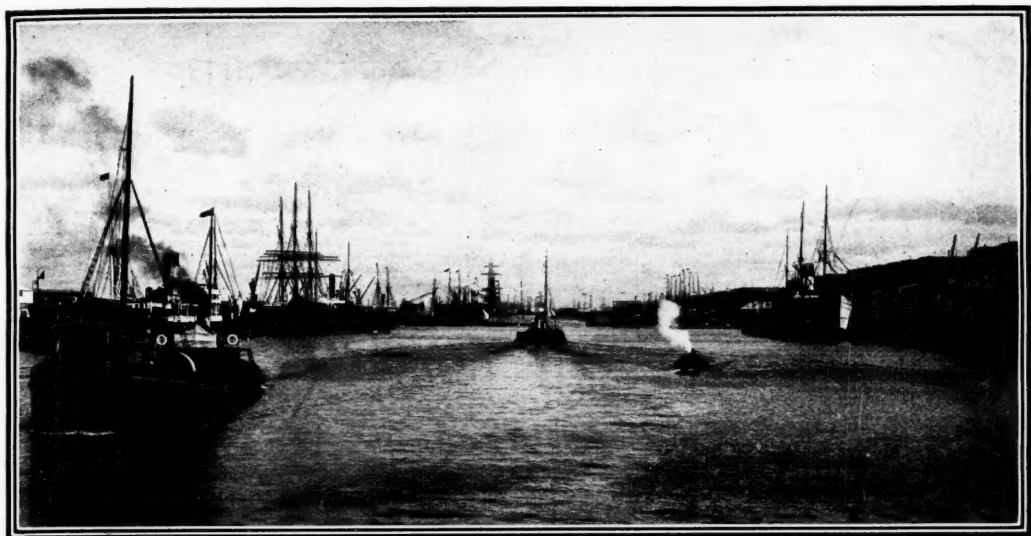
class passenger and fast express line of steamers running between the United States and Argentina. In contrast to this, there are six or seven companies with big, fast vessels plying between Buenos Ayres and the principal European ports.

The average traveler finds it not only necessary but far more comfortable to go from New York to Buenos Ayres *via* Southampton, Cherbourg or Marseilles, or Genoa, than direct to Buenos Ayres on slow-going, uncomfortable freight and cattle ships. There is one fair monthly passenger line from New York to Rio Janeiro, but the latter port is its terminus. Connections can, however, be made there with the European lines *en route* to and from Buenos Ayres. I would advise the average traveler to go *via* Southampton or Cherbourg. The port and docks at Buenos Ayres, where one lands, are among the finest in the world.



PALACE OF JUSTICE IN ROSARIO, THE CHICAGO, OR SECOND CITY, OF ARGENTINA.



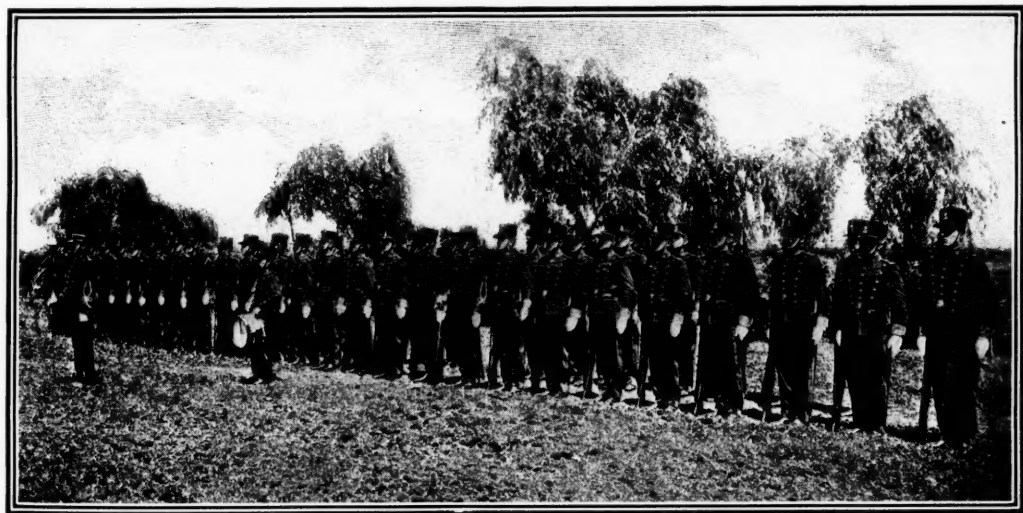


A VIEW OF THE HARBOR AND DOCKS, BUENOS AYRES, COSTING \$25,000,000 TO CONSTRUCT.

Excellent hotels provide for the comfort of visitors.

In conclusion, I wish to epitomize some of the foregoing facts to be remembered by the passing reader: Argentina is as large as half of the United States proper, and covers 1,200,000 square miles; it has a growing population of only 5,000,000, but an annual foreign trade of \$450,000,000, or \$90 per head; it is located in the south temperate zone, and is a "white man's country;" it is a great agricultural land, and

its products are similar to those of the United States; it possesses extraordinary mining possibilities in the Andes; it has a seaboard, indented with many harbors on the Atlantic, of fifteen hundred miles, and is drained by the extensive navigable River Plate system; it is gridironed with up-to-date railroads; its government and constitution are similar to those of the United States. Buenos Ayres, the capital, has a population of one million, and is one of the most beautiful and prosperous cities in the world.



CADETS OF THE MILITARY SCHOOL AT SAN MARTIN, ARGENTINA.

# HOW NIAGARA IS "HARNESSED."

THE POWER DEVELOPMENT NOW IN PROGRESS ON THE CANADIAN SIDE.

BY TRUMAN A. DE WEESE.

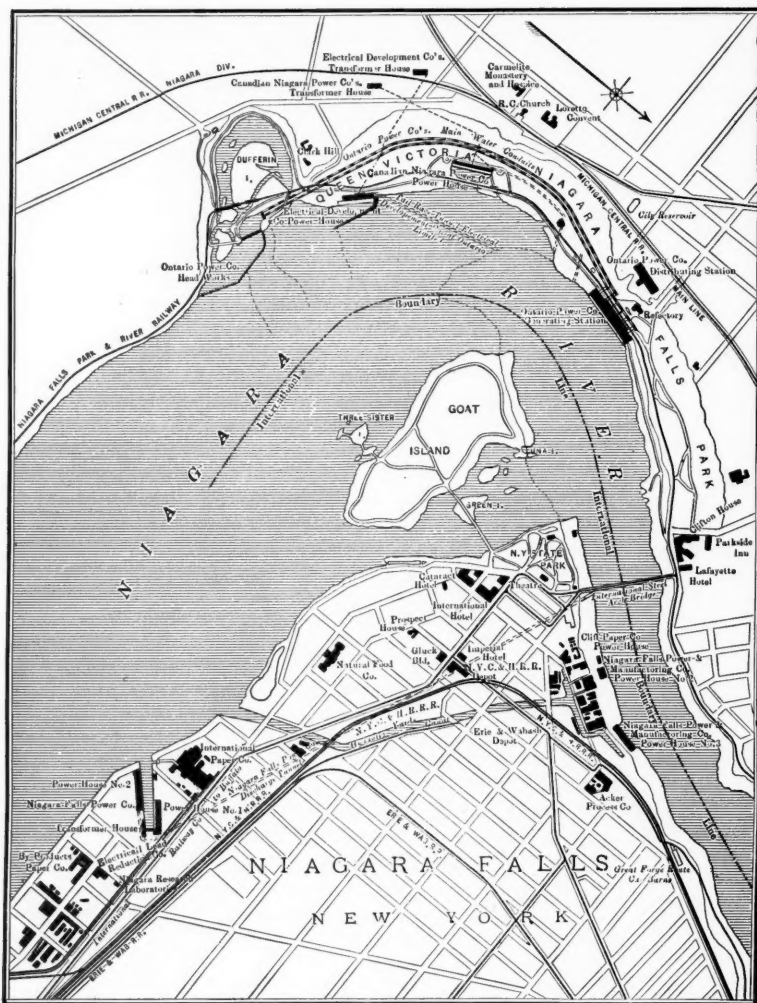
THE air is tremulous with exploding dynamite and the ground about Niagara Falls pulsates with a network of tunnels, conduits, and electric cables. The hand of the engineer

is piercing and splitting the thick armor of stone with which Nature sought to protect the Niagara region. Deep into the layers of limestone and shale the engineer is sinking his cavernous

shafts, and under the river he is boring great tunnels to carry away the waters of the upper Niagara. The thunder of bursting bombs and the sound of the rapid-fire rock-drill tell day and night of the work of the engineering artillery.

The bridal couples that come here now must put cotton in their ears. Niagara Falls is the Mecca of engineers and electricians. Here unique engineering problems are being solved in a brilliant and daring way. The scenic grandeur of the great cataract itself is being overshadowed by the stupendous hydro-electric engineering projects which excite popular amazement and curiosity.

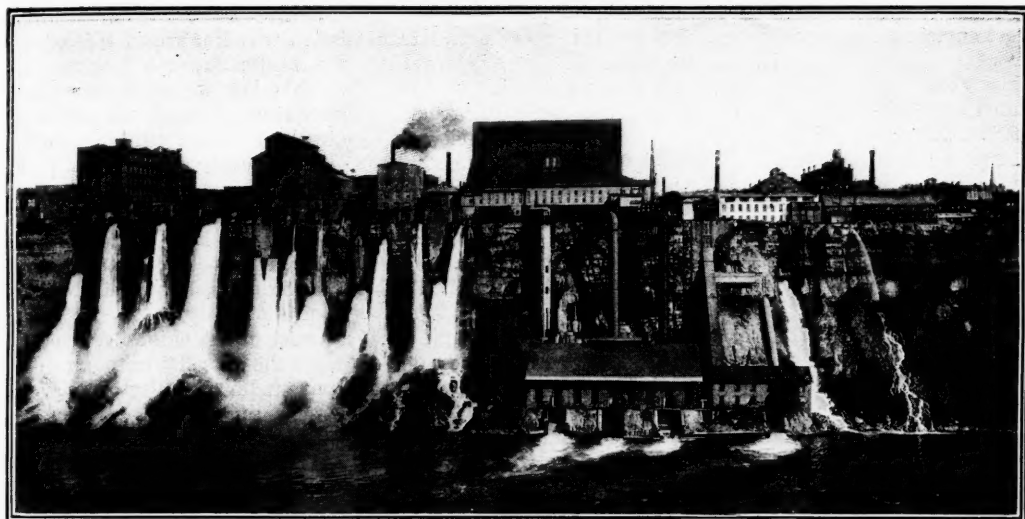
"Where are the wheels?" exclaimed the pilgrim from Kansas as he gazed upon the Niagara cataract for the first time. True to the traditions of his State, he did not permit the bewildering roar or the blinding mist of the torrent of rushing waters to deter him from trying to trace the outlines of the mammoth paddle-wheels that were supposed to be turning



From the Engineering Magazine.

MAP SHOWING ELECTRIC-POWER DEVELOPMENTS AT NIAGARA FALLS.

(Scale, approximately, 2 inches to 1 mile.)



A VIEW BELOW FIRST STEEL ARCH BRIDGE, SHOWING EFFECTS OF EARLIEST POWER DEVELOPMENT ON NIAGARA RIVER.

the shafts of great factories, lighting the streets and homes of cities, and propelling the cars of great urban and interurban traction systems.

The traveler from Kansas was not alone in his quest for "the wheels." Many who visit the falls are surprised to find that the natural beauty of the cataract is not marred by the presence of hundreds of paddle-wheels protruding here and there in the splashing waters.

The resources of vivid and imaginative descriptive writers have been taxed to convey some idea of the tremendous power that is "going to waste" in the waters that are plunging over the precipice into the great gorge of the Niagara River. As a matter of fact, the cataract itself has not been "harnessed." It is estimated that 100,000,000 tons of water flow over the precipice every hour. If it is possible to form some definite mental conception of this immense volume of water tumbling over a precipice 161 feet high after acquiring the momentum given it by a descent of 70 feet in going 22 miles from Lake Erie, the difficulty of accurately measuring the "horse-power" developed by its terrific impact will be readily appreciated. It is possible, however, for the genius of man to so divert the waters of Niagara River into other channels as to make the precipice as dry as a country creek in July.

The talk about the possible destruction of the falls recalls the story about the fright of Thomas A. Edison when he heard that they had receded from Lewiston 7 miles in 75,000 years, and that they are now receding at the rate of 1 foot every year. The news that the cataract had

receded 7 miles in 75,000 years broke in upon his inventive mind like a flash of lightning from a clear sky. If the falls were receding at this rate, why invest millions of dollars in the great engineering project for "harnessing" them? He could not sleep until he had communicated this discovery to the Eastern capitalists who were furnishing the money to install the first great power plant on the Niagara River. The hard-headed men of finance, however, were not alarmed by the possible recession of the precipice, especially when they learned that the power plants were to be located a mile above it; and as it would take over 5,000 years for the falls to reach these power-houses, they were willing to leave the question of the soundness of their securities to future generations.

Two great canals are now drawing water from Niagara River above the falls on the American side, and three will soon be drawing water from the river on the Canadian side. It is the installation of these great Canadian power plants, with their mammoth tail races for disposing of the "dead" water and their tunnels for carrying water to their great turbines, that has developed engineering problems unique and fascinating and construction work that is hazardous and spectacular. To meet the engineering requirements presented by the necessity for locating these three plants along the shore edge of Queen Victoria Park, one company had to "unwater" a considerable area of Niagara River at Tempest Point, where it has great depth and velocity; and having done this, it was obliged to dig "the biggest tunnel in the world" through the solid rock,

under the river, to a point directly behind the great curtain of water that plunges over the center of "Horseshoe" Falls. In all probability, the workmen who blew open the mouth of this tunnel were the first human beings to see the cataract from this point.

Another company has sunk its wheel-pit in Queen Victoria Park, about half a mile above Horseshoe Falls, and will take its water through a short canal, discharging it in the lower river through a tunnel 2,000 feet in length. Now, how was a third Canadian company to tap the waters of the river and find room for its intake canal, its tail race, or tunnel, its wheel-pit, and its power-house? The resourceful engineer was, apparently, equal to the emergency. He said: "We will go farther up the river than any of them for our water, and it will, therefore, take longer for the receding falls to reach us. And we will build our power plant below the falls, instead of along the upper river." Accordingly, he devised a plan by which the water will be brought from Dufferin Islands, more than a mile above the falls, through the largest steel conduit in the world, which is laid underground, and runs not far from the shore of the river, skirting the other power plants, to the great power-house in the cañon below the falls.

It is interesting at this point to survey the hydro-electric power installations and note the different methods adopted for taking the water from the river and for carrying it to the lower river after it has passed through the turbine wheels. On the American side, the earliest power

development, inaugurated before long-distance electric transmission was known, is that of the Niagara Falls Hydraulic Power & Manufacturing Company, which takes water from a canal dug from the upper river through the center of the city of Niagara Falls to the cliff just below the first steel cantilever bridge, the power plant and industries using the water-power being located at this point. The other American company, the first to utilize the later discoveries in "electric transmission" in the "harnessing" of Niagara upon a big scale, known as the Niagara Falls Power Company, takes its water through a short canal about a mile above the falls, and discharges the "dead" water through a tunnel that runs under the city of Niagara Falls to a point near the water's edge in the lower river directly below the first steel bridge. The Canadian Niagara Falls Power Company, which is allied with the American company, taps the river in Queen Victoria Park, taking its water through a short canal and discharging it below the falls through a 2,000-foot tunnel. The Toronto & Niagara Power Company, with its power plant built in the bed of the river near Tempest Point, takes water through great stone forebays in the river and sends it to the lower river through a tunnel under Niagara River which empties directly behind the "V" in Horseshoe Falls. The Ontario Power Company is building its power-house in the cañon near the lower river level, and carries the water to run its turbine wheels from Dufferin Islands in an underground steel pipe, discharging the tail water through draft tubes directly into the river.

With this mental picture of the general engineering features of the five great power developments definitely formed, you are ready to follow the engineers into such details of construction as may appeal to individual taste, curiosity, or technical knowledge. Let us descend, for instance, into the tunnel that is to carry tail water from the power-house of the Toronto Company under Niagara River, dashing it against the curtain that plunges with torrential fury over the Horseshoe precipice. Here is a subterranean "thriller" that will easily satisfy the visitor who is hunting for new sensations. All other experiences that are used to allure and captivate the pilgrims to this wonderful region will dim into tame and commonplace affairs compared to this excursion through the great hole that American engineering genius has shot through the solid rock under Niagara River to the center of Horseshoe Falls. The company did not undertake this great engineering project for the benefit of visitors to the falls. But having made the tun-



BUILDING THE "CRIB COFFER-DAM" TO UNWATER A PORTION OF NIAGARA RIVER ABOVE THE FALLS, ON WHICH TO BUILD WHEEL-PIT AND POWER PLANT. CANADIAN SIDE.

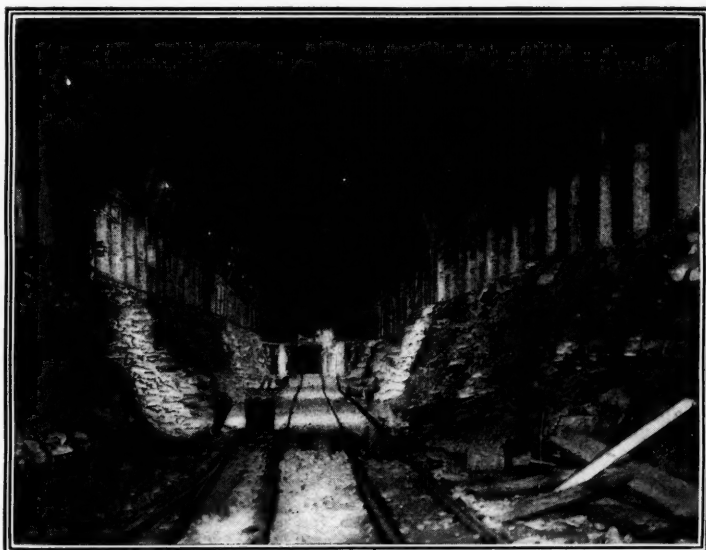


nel large for inspection purposes, so that it might be examined at any point at any time, the company wisely decided to hang a "visitors' gallery" from its roof.

Through this tunnel and under the visitors' gallery one might easily drive a coach-and-four. In fact, two lines of railways on the bottom of the main tunnel have been maintained during construction for transporting the rock and earth excavated by workmen. Clad in rubber coat and boots, the future visitor to the falls may wend his way along this gallery, 158 feet below the river bed, to the mouth of the tunnel, where the roar of the torrent of water as it plunges over the Horseshoe precipice and the clouds of blinding spray that are swept into it by furious storms of wind give a terrifying aspect to a wondrous spectacle, the like of which is

not to be seen in any part of the world. The curtain of water is about 60 feet from the face of the rock at this point, but the intervening space is filled with the spray that is hurled about in almost cyclonic fury. This tunnel is 1,935 feet in length, and joins two branch tail races at a point about 165 feet from the wheel-pit of the power plant. Before work on the main tunnel was begun a shaft was sunk on the river bank opposite the crest of Horseshoe Falls, and from this a tunnel was dug to a point at the lower end of the main tunnel. No difficulties were encountered in the digging of this tunnel until the workmen were within about 15 feet of the face of Horseshoe Falls, when the water began to pour in through a fissure in the rock, and it was impossible to continue the work.

After a losing fight against the water for several days, the engineer decided to explode a large quantity of dynamite close to the wall between the tunnel and the face of the falls. This, together with the dynamite in eighteen holes that were drilled in the wall, was exploded after the tunnel had been flooded. The explosion made an opening into the face of the cliff, but so near the roof of the tunnel that it was impossible to work at the opposing wall from the inside. The engineer thereupon called for volunteers to crawl along the ledge of rock



INSIDE OF TAIL-RACE TUNNEL.

(This tunnel will carry dead water from the power plant of the Toronto & Niagara Power Company under the Niagara River to a point 150 feet below surface, directly behind center of Horseshoe Falls. The largest tunnel in the world. A visitors' gallery will be suspended from its roof when the works are completed. Men who dug this tunnel were the first human beings to see the falls from this point.)

behind the falls to the opening which had been made. Several men, roped together, made this perilous trip, and, finally, placed large quantities of dynamite against the wall at the end of the tunnel, blowing it away sufficiently to allow the water to run out and to permit a continuance of the work.

In the design of this tunnel the engineers have made ingenious provision for the wearing away, or recession, of the falls. The lining for the first 300 feet from the outlet will be put in rings 6 feet long, so that as the falls recede, and the tunnel shortens by the breaking away of the surrounding rock, the lining will break away in clean sections and leave a smooth surface at the new end of the tunnel. Through the main tunnel and the branch tunnels, at a velocity of 26 feet per second, will rush the water from the upper river after it has passed through the eleven turbine wheels of the power plant, generating a total of 125,000 electric horse-power.

The construction work for this power development afforded striking examples of the mastery of man over Nature. The engineering plans were bold in conception and daring in execution. In order to clear a place for the wheel-pit and for a great gathering dam, it was necessary to unwater a space in the bed of Niagara River

covering about twelve acres. To do this the engineers built a crib-work coffer-dam within which to carry on the work of construction. This dam was about 2,155 feet in length and about 20 to 46 feet wide. Some idea of the engineering difficulties encountered in the building of this dam may be gathered from the fact that the depth of the water in many places was as great as 24 feet, while it was thought that the average depth of water was about 7 feet. The dam was made to conform with the bed of the river by means of soundings made with an iron rod. Much of the work was done where it was at right angles to the current of deep water, which was flowing at a high velocity. A platform was suspended out for 16 feet from the end of each crib, and to break the force of the current a fender of heavy timbers, held in position by three steel cables fastened at points higher up the river, projected out beyond the last crib.

In spite of the exceedingly hazardous nature of this work, there was but one life lost in the building of the dam. About 2,000 feet above the crest of the falls an immense hole was sunk into the solid rock for a wheel-pit. The bottom of this wheel-pit, upon which the turbines rest, is 150 feet below the surface, and from it two branch tail races connect with the main tail race of the tunnel which runs out to Horseshoe Falls. A large "gathering dam," made of concrete and capped with cut granite, extends into the river 750 feet from the line of the power-house. This dam, which varies in height from 10 to 23 feet, is intended to divert toward the power-house an amount of the river's flow sufficient for the de-

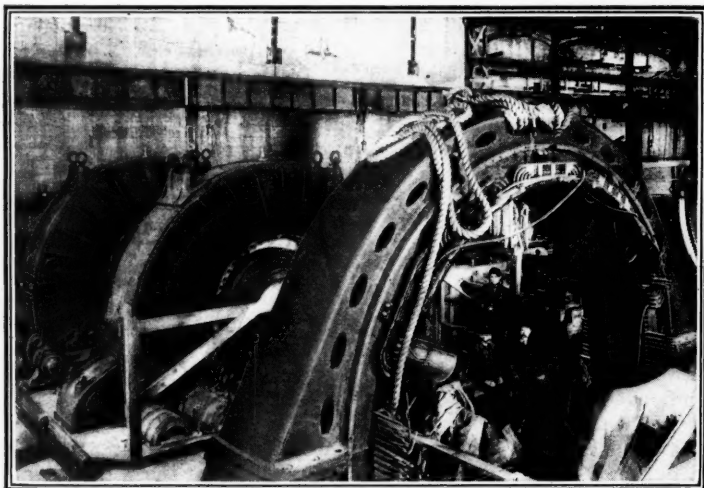
velopment of the maximum capacity of the plant. The power station is located practically on the original shore line and parallel to it, and the generator room will contain eleven generators of 12,500 horse-power each. The transmission lines from this power plant to Toronto will be carried on two lines of steel towers, each line carrying two circuits, and each will be 46 feet high. These steel towers will also carry the trolley wires for electric cars, which will run from Niagara Falls to Toronto *via* Hamilton, a distance of 88 miles, at a speed of 100 miles an hour. For this purpose the company owns a right of way 80 feet wide for the entire distance.

It also owns and operates other lines of electric railway, and will furnish electric light for the city of Toronto. It is the only company backed entirely by Canadian capital, although some of the stock is held by members of the British royal family. The chief engineer in charge of this power development, which presented some of the most difficult problems known to engineering, is Mr. Beverly R. Value, an American of ability and distinction in his profession. The agreement with the commissioners of Victoria Park calls for a power-house of massive and dignified architecture, the general style of which is the Italian renaissance, and in its structure and surroundings it is to conform to plans that are intended to add to the picturesque attractiveness of the park.

A short distance beyond this development, and a hundred or more yards farther away from the shore of the river, runs the mammoth steel conduit of the Ontario Power Company, which is to carry water from the river, at Dufferin Is-

lands, to the power-house that is being built in the gorge below Horseshoe Falls.

The car in which you ride along the edge of Victoria Park must worm its way through a maze of wriggling "clam-shell" and "orange-peel" buckets and whizzing aerial tramways that are engaged in scooping up tons of earth and broken rock and dumping it into trains of trolley box-cars. As you peer out of the window you are momentarily impressed with the fear that one of the huge steel "clam-shell" buckets, in its next dizzy sweep through the air, may scrape your vehicle from its tracks into one of the seemingly bottomless



ASSEMBLING A 10,000-HORSE-POWER UNIT.

pits that stare at you on either side. This Titanic digging machinery, with its giant cranes and monster shovels, its crunching, creaking chains, and the rapid rattle of steam drills boring holes into the rock, is a spectacle of engineering activity such as one might expect to see in the famous Culebra cut in the Panama Canal. In the great trench that has been excavated is being laid, section by section, the steel pipe which, it is claimed, is the largest pipe in the world used for conveying water. When this power development is completed there will be three of these steel pipes buried along the river bank through Queen Victoria Park, each 18 feet in diameter and a little over 6,000 feet long.

The plans for this great project provide for 18 generating units and for the development of 180,000 electric horse-power. Niagara River descends more than 200 feet between the upper line of breakers opposite Dufferin Islands and the foot of Horseshoe Falls. Laying this great steel pipe from an intake at these islands for more than a mile down stream, and dropping it to the generating station at the water level in the cañon opposite Goat Island, adds nearly 55 feet to the head of water available from the cataract alone. Located in the cañon below the falls near the river level, the power-house will require neither vertical generators at the tops of the shafts nor a long tunnel to carry off the tail water. Electric energy developed in the power-house near the base of the cataract passes up through cables and conduits in the cliff to a transformer-house on the top of the hill for distribution and transmission.

The plan of utilizing hydraulic power in this development differs radically from that followed in the other power stations, in that the turbines are horizontal instead of vertical, and are directly connected with the main generators, this constituting the only machinery placed on the floor of the station.

The laying of the main conduit, which is made of steel plates one-half inch in thickness, in the great trench excavated for that purpose has furnished an interesting spectacle for the thousands of visitors to the Niagara region. In order to prevent erosion, this pipe was thor-



CONSTRUCTION WORK ON THE POWER-HOUSE OF THE CANADIAN NIAGARA FALLS POWER COMPANY. WORK ON THE "FOREBAY."

oughly cleaned by sand-blasting and covered with three coats of paint inside and out.

Power cables are carried by tile ducts imbedded in the concrete sides of the tunnels, and broken at intervals for the insertion of steel clamps to prevent sliding of the cables. These power cables are to be paper-insulated, lead-covered, and protected with layers of jute and steel wires.

It is not known outside of the directorate just what uses are to be made of the power that will be developed by this great corporation, commonly known as "the Albright Company," but it is officially announced that 60,000 of its horse-power was sold before the construction work began. However, rumor constantly connects this development with the electrification of certain steam railway lines, including branches of the New York Central. The color of probability is given to these rumors by the fact that the administration of William C. Brown, the new operating genius who is at the head of the operating department of the Vanderbilt properties, is marked by electrification plans that are about to be projected upon a scale hitherto unknown in American railway management.

Almost as interesting and instructive as the power development at Niagara are the manufacturing industries which utilize the power, and which stretch along the river for several miles. These include the manufacture of carborundum, aluminum, carbide, graphite, caustic potash,

muriatic acid, emery wheels, railway supplies, paper, hook-and-eye fasteners, and shredded wheat.

The power development which is to make Buffalo and Niagara Falls the power centers of the world, and which has already made Niagara Falls the most interesting spot in all the world for electricians and engineers, is made possible by the development of electric-power transmission. It is the outgrowth of a plan "for the development of hydraulic power" originally devised by Thomas Evershed, a public engineer, employed by New York State on the Erie Canal, and carried forward to its present development on the American side by the Niagara Falls Power Company, which was organized in 1889. Actively identified with the promotion and financing of this great enterprise were the following gentlemen: William B. Rankine, now treasurer and second vice-president; Francis Lynde Stetson, J. Pierpont Morgan, Hamilton McK. Twombly, Edward A. Wickes, Morris K. Jesup, Darius Ogden Mills, Charles F. Clark, Edward D. Adams, Charles Lanier, A. J. Forbes-Leith, Walter Howe, John Crosby Brown, Frederick W. Whitridge, William K. Vanderbilt, George S. Bowdoin, Joseph Larocque, Charles A. Sweet, of Buffalo, and John Jacob Astor, most of whom have served as officers and directors of the construction company.

In a recent address in Buffalo, Gen. Francis V. Greene said that the present long-distance transmission of electric power is about 250 miles, and that within ten years this limit will be extended to 500 miles. Electric power developed at Niagara is now being carried 40 miles.

And what is to be the effect of all this power development upon the great cataract over which the waters of Niagara River have leaped for countless centuries? Is it true that children already born may yet walk dry-shod across the bed of the river from the mainland of the New York State Reservation to Goat Island? The engineers are not agreed upon this question. How can one expect a layman to venture an opinion?

Popular interest in the question is revived by the discussion of certain measures before the last session of the New York Legislature which called for new power franchises and for a further diversion of the waters of Niagara River. One of these asked the Legislature for a grant giving its promoters the right to send water from a point above the falls through a canal to Lockport. Under pressure of public sentiment, the measure was modified so as to limit the amount of water to be diverted in this way to 400,000 horse-power. This measure, known as the Leg-

gett bill, was characterized by the press as a "grab bill," and was killed. Another measure, known as the Cassidy bill, which was taken up after the death of the Leggett bill, was put forward as a "transmission-line bill," but in reality conferred broad powers of private and public land condemnation, and placed no restriction upon the amount of water which might be diverted from the river for power purposes.

Neither house passed the Leggett bill, but the Cassidy substitute was passed by the Senate and afterward killed by the Assembly Rules Committee. This was a better record than that of the Legislature of 1904, in which "the Niagara power grab" had to be blocked by a veto from the Governor.

Government engineers have estimated the normal discharge of Niagara River into Lake Ontario at 222,000 cubic feet per second. The total abstraction of water by the five power plants in operation and in process of construction is placed at about 48,800 cubic feet per second. Add to this the diversion caused by the Welland Canal, running from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, and the power development along this channel; that of the Chicago drainage canal, running from Lake Michigan to the Des Plaines River; that of the new barge canal, which will follow the line of the present Erie Canal from Buffalo to Savannah, and the possible diversion by the canal that is to be built under the so-called "Love charter" from La Salle to Devil's Hole, in the gorge below Whirlpool Rapids, and we have, according to the estimates of the engineers, a total diversion of water from the Great Lakes above the falls of about 67,400 cubic feet per second. And there is the possibility of great power development on the Chicago drainage canal, on the Illinois and Des Plaines rivers, and on the Kankakee River, in Indiana, all of which will draw water away from Lake Michigan, the amount of which is now beyond human estimate.

The real danger to the falls will come from the granting of additional power franchises in the future. If such grants should get through the State Legislature in defiance of public sentiment upon this question, it is not believed that they would receive the official sanction of the executive. There can be no mistake about the attitude of the people of New York, and of the entire country, regarding a further diversion of the waters of Niagara River for power purposes, for while the present diversion has had no appreciable effect upon the cataract itself, there is strong opposition to new power projects that will further diminish the volume of water flowing over the precipice.



# WHY NORWAY HAS SEPARATED FROM SWEDEN.

BY A DANISH OBSERVER.

[The writer of this article, who prefers not to have his name appear, has studied the question of Norwegian-Swedish relations for years. He is in a position to speak with sympathy, and yet without special prejudice, on the subject. The comments from Norwegian and Swedish standpoints which follow the article are by eminent American representatives of the nations immediately concerned. Dr. Anderson is a well-known Norwegian scholar and historical authority. He is an ex-United States minister to Denmark, and is at present editor of *Amerika*, perhaps the best known of Norwegian journals published outside of Norway. Dr. Enander is an authority on Swedish history and general Scandinavian politics. He is editor of the *Hemlandet*, the recognized organ of the Swedes of our great Northwest.]

THE separation of Norway from Sweden, and the establishment of the former as a nation apart, makes no change in the internal governmental machinery of either country. According to the terms of the union of 1814, while the person of the sovereign was the same, each country had its own government, constitution, and code of laws.

The question in dispute,—namely, the organization of a separate consular service for Norway,—would seem to be of a rather peaceful character, and not of such importance that it could not be settled by negotiations. It must appear surprising that it should have made the political waves run so high in the two so closely related countries, up to the present united under one king.

It is necessary to know certain political and historical phases of the mutual relations of these two nations in order to understand the trouble. The outward unity was to a great extent only apparent, and did not altogether correspond to the internal relations. The history of the two countries has been entirely different. They have never had the same government or been dependencies one of the other, and their national characteristics are very unlike. Protection is the economic doctrine of Sweden, while Norway's interests demand free trade. The Swedish constitution grants the crown and the higher classes considerable influence with the government, while Norway is the most democratic monarchy in the world.

Though the two countries had the same king, it would be a mistake to believe that the origin of their discord is to be found in conditions similar to those which govern the home-rule question in Ireland. The kingdom of Norway has always been, in reality, as free and sovereign a state as any in the world, with the single restriction that it was bound to permit questions concerning both countries to be debated jointly in the so-called "combined council of state."

When, in 1814, Denmark was forced by the

allied powers to cede Norway (with which country it had been united for more than four hundred years) to Sweden, the whole Norwegian nation arose in protest. The Norwegians elected their own king and adopted a very liberal constitution. A short war with Sweden was the result. Bernadotte, Napoleon's former marshal, who had been made heir-apparent to the Swedish throne and now ruled in the name of the old and sick king, found it advisable to submit to the wishes of Norway. He acknowledged her new constitution, was made king of Norway, which formed, with Sweden, a union defined in the Act of 1815. This act says, in its introduction, that "the union is not a result of warfare, but of free conviction, and shall be maintained by a clear acknowledgment of the legal rights of the nations in protection of their mutual thrones."

Paragraph 1 of this act stated that the kingdom of Norway is a free, independent, indivisible, and inalienable state, united with Sweden under one king. Paragraph 5 established a "combined council of state" for discussion of matters pertaining to the union. These paragraphs gave a full definition of the union of the two countries,—a monarchy and a defensive alliance "for the protection of their mutual throne."

This peculiar form of union has not proved conducive to the happiness of the two nations in their mutual relations. The incongruity of their views is too great. It was difficult for Sweden to realize that Norway was not a conquered country, and the Norwegians, on their side, have kept watch over their rights with irritation and jealousy, while their radical parties have at times promoted an agitation that in a nation more politically mature would have carried them far beyond their mark.

## A QUESTION OF INDEPENDENCE FOR NORWAY.

It was the question of Norway's right to manage its own foreign affairs that was es-

pecially the bone of contention. Sweden considered the common administration of foreign affairs one of the most important guaranties for the preservation of the union and the integrity of the countries, and pointed to the danger from their powerful eastern neighbor, for whom a harbor in the North Atlantic Ocean is a much-coveted prize. Especially now, since Russia is excluded from the sea in the far East, it is expected that she will with so much the greater zeal turn her eyes toward the ice-free harbors of Norway's northwest coast. Russian engineers have already constructed roads across Finland, close to the Swedish-Norwegian boundaries, and in Sweden it was urged that this is not the time for showing any tendencies toward separation or for loosening the ties which have given strength to the two nations in their relations with foreign powers. The Norwegian Liberals, who have been the leading men of the country almost uninterruptedly for the past twenty years, assert with equal strength that only when the complete equality of the two countries is acknowledged and respected is a really helpful union possible, in peace as well as in war.

But if Norway, as stated, is a free and sovereign state, and as such, according to international law, has the right to direct its own affairs, internal as well as foreign, and to send and receive ambassadors and consuls, how could it be explained that during the almost one hundred years in which the two countries had been united Norway has been excluded from exercising this right? The constitution of Norway, which was acknowledged by Sweden, states expressly that the king of Norway has such rights.

The situation can be explained partially thus: According to the old political ideas, the management of foreign affairs was a personal right of the sovereign, which he exercised through his minister of foreign affairs. The diplomats were also considered to be the personal representatives of the monarch, and are still, to a certain extent, so considered. After the separation from Denmark, Norway could, without any danger, place the administration of her foreign affairs in the hands of her king. Even if this arrangement was not altogether satisfactory, it was at least the same for both countries. But when, in 1885, Sweden made the minister of foreign affairs responsible to the Swedish parliament, Norway felt it a serious slight to be deprived of every influence worth mentioning in her foreign politics, and to see the administration of these placed in the hands of a foreigner, who was not responsible to the Norwegian parliament, and who could not be expected to have any special knowledge of Norway's particular interests. Fre-

quent negotiations to settle this question have taken place, but the realization of Norway's wishes have always been frustrated by resistance from the Swedish side. The concessions which Sweden was willing to make were not acceptable to Norway. Finally, the negotiations relating to a special Norwegian minister of foreign affairs were dropped, and only the question of separate consular service, as the more practicable, taken up.

#### AN ECONOMIC REASON.

Owing to the great development of Norway's commerce and shipping, the question became very pressing, and it was clear that all parties in Norway were of the same opinion, especially as Sweden had adopted a policy of protection, while Norway adhered to the principles of free trade. Besides, the shipping of Norway was about three times as large as that of Sweden, and, while Norway had but little influence in the administration of the consular service, she had to defray about half the expense. Furthermore, the question as to the appointment of her own consuls, or commercial and maritime representatives, seemed to be entirely outside the scope of the matters on which Sweden claims to have the right of influence as relating to the union.

In 1891, the question assumed a practical aspect. In that year, Norway established the so-called "Consulate Committee" to examine the question, and it came to the conclusion that there was commercial necessity for Norway to have her own consuls. The government, as well as the parliament, prepared complete plans for the realization of such an arrangement. Violent quarrels with Sweden were the result, and the excitement in the "combined council of state," as well as in the two parliaments, was very great. In Norway, one cabinet succeeded another, but it was impossible to come to an agreement. In 1898, the question was taken up again, at the suggestion of Sweden, and a committee consisting of seven Norwegian and seven Swedish members was formed to discuss all the differences pertaining to the union. As was to be expected, this committee could not agree, the representatives of the two countries not even agreeing among themselves. The negotiations were for a time eclipsed by other questions, until they were reopened in 1901, again on the initiative of Sweden, but this time only the consular-service question was discussed. In January, 1902, the King appointed a new committee, consisting of Dr. Sigurd Ibsen, a son of the famous author, and Consul-General Christopher- sen, from Norway, and Baron Bildt, ambassador at London, and Consul-General Amén, from Sweden, who should consider how separate con-

ulates for each of the united kingdoms would work with the retention of the common diplomatic service, and how the home administration of the consulates and the relation of the consulates to the legations could be settled.

#### SWEDEN OFFERS CONCESSIONS.

As early as July of the same year (1902), the committee issued a unanimous report favoring the realization of Norway's wishes. On this basis, the negotiations between the two governments were continued, and in the so-called March Communiqué the following points were agreed upon: (1) That separate consulates should be established for the two countries, in such a way that each country's consuls are subject only to that home authority which each country establishes; (2) the relation of the separate consuls to the minister of foreign affairs and the diplomats should be arranged by parallel laws in both parliaments, and they should not be changed or canceled without the consent of the two countries. This agreement received the sanction of the King in a combined Swedish-Norwegian council of state in December, 1903.

The realization of Norway's wishes seemed now to be quite near. A new and strong cabinet, under the leadership of the highly respected jurist and professor of law, Dr. Hagerup, held the reins of government. This cabinet immediately undertook the preparation of the parallel laws, and worked so rapidly that in May, 1904, the outline was sent to Stockholm for the consideration of the Swedish Government.

Sweden's answer was long in coming, and, furthermore, the Swedish minister of foreign affairs, who was considered to be favorably disposed toward the Norwegian claims, was forced to resign. The Swedish premier, Mr. Boström, himself conducted the affair. Finally, in November, 1904, the reply of the Swedish Government was received. To the surprise of every one, it did not contain an outline of parallel laws, but drew up a new line of "principles" for the settlement of the relation of the separate consulates to the diplomats and the minister of foreign affairs which would give him considerable authority and power to appoint, supervise, and remove these Norwegian public officials.

There is no room here for a detailed examination of these points, or for an estimate of the scruples of the Swedish Government which led to them. It must not be forgotten, however, that it was an absolutely essential condition of the negotiations relating to separate consular services that these should not in any way affect the *status quo* of other foreign affairs. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the Swedish

minister of foreign affairs, on whom finally falls the political responsibility, claimed that he had the right to demand a clear definition of the sphere of authority of these separate consuls, and to demand absolute guaranties that they would not encroach upon his sphere, thus making him responsible without giving him any controlling power.

The principles laid down in Sweden's reply caused great indignation throughout Norway, where they were considered an attempt to deprive the nation of its sovereign rights. The Norwegians declared that the action of the Swedish Government was of such a character that "parliamentary language did not contain words to describe it." What made the Norwegians especially indignant was Sweden's demand that the word "Norway" in the King's title as "King of Norway and Sweden" should be placed after the word "Sweden" in the exequaturs of the new Norwegian consuls, an arrangement of words never before used in Norwegian documents.

After numerous verbal negotiations between the governments in Stockholm and Christiania, which led to no agreement, the Norwegian government, in June, 1904, prepared a so-called "promemoria," endeavoring, in this document, with great force to prove that the "principles" expressed in the Swedish reply were not only in violation of the Norwegian constitution, but also in certain directions a step backward. Furthermore, it was set forth that these principles were absolutely at variance with the agreement of December, 1903, which the sanction of the King had made constitutionally binding, and in which it was definitely declared that Norway should have its own consular service, subject to special Norwegian authority only, without any control from the minister of foreign affairs or the ambassadors.

This was the end of the negotiations. The crown prince, Gustav, who acted as regent, attempted to renew them on a broader basis, embracing all the differences pertaining to the union, but the Norwegian cabinet, believing that under the present political conditions such negotiations would be as futile as those of 1844, 1867, and 1898, refused to reopen them.

#### SWEDEN'S CASE SET FORTH.

The many weighty political reasons for the preservation of the union, which Norway was either unable or unwilling to see, would possibly have prompted Sweden to make important concessions during such negotiations rather than risk the breaking of the union. It should also be said in Sweden's favor that, seeing the

union in danger, she did much to calm the excitement in Norway, and even sacrificed her premier, Boström, although very important political questions made his presence in the cabinet highly desirable. Unfortunately, the moment when a yielding disposition might have been of benefit had passed. A new cabinet, under the leadership of the advocate Michelsen, had in the meantime come into power in Norway, with the political programme of carrying through the wishes of Norway without the collaboration of Sweden. About the middle of May, the parliament passed a Norwegian consular-service law according to the ideas expressed in the agreement of December, 1903.

King Oscar was now placed in an extremely difficult position. He foresaw that by sanctioning this law he would meet insurmountable obstacles in the Swedish parliament and cabinet, and in Norway the result would be that he could not find a single man willing to form a cabinet that would make his veto constitutionally valid by its approval, and thereby make itself (the cabinet) responsible to the parliament and the whole Norwegian people. Undoubtedly moved by the highest and noblest motives, he chose, under these circumstances, to veto the Norwegian law. This step was immediately followed by the resignation of the Norwegian cabinet, a resignation which the King refused to accept, declaring that he knew he could not form another government.

The Norwegian parliament then declared that

the King, by admitting that he was unable to rule the country according to the constitution, and by refusing to comply with the wishes of his cabinet and the unanimous votes of the parliament, had overstepped the limits of his rights, and had therefore ceased to rule as king of Norway. The King of Sweden and his government answered by a firm protest against the constitutional legality of the Norwegian parliament's action. Sweden refused to recognize the secession, and so long as Sweden withholds this recognition the foreign powers will certainly withhold theirs.

The political relations between the two countries, which during a period of ninety years had led to ever-increasing discord, were thus severed. Norway displayed the greatest dignity and tact in this revolution, and showed a strong feeling of responsibility. Even if Sweden does not resort to force of arms, Norway will meet with difficulties of the most serious kind so long as it is unrecognized by the powers and excluded from arguing its case in the council of the world's states.

It must also be admitted that Norway's present isolation decidedly weakens Scandinavian foreign politics, and might, in a crisis, lead to dire results for both countries. It is therefore to be hoped that another form of federal collaboration may be found,—possibly also including the third Scandinavian nation, Denmark,—more likely to promote the happiness, in peace or war, of the three Scandinavian nations.

### THE NORWEGIAN VIEWPOINT,—A COMMENT.

"A DANISH OBSERVER'S" article is, in the main, an able and impartial presentation of the facts involved in the case. The writer shows an intimate acquaintance with the political and diplomatic history of Norway and Sweden since the two countries became united in 1814, and it is hardly necessary to add that I heartily indorse most of what he has to say. There is, however, one statement in his article that does not correspond with the historic facts, and it is, in my opinion, of the greatest importance in defining the position and rights of Norway in her troubles with her neighbor.

"A Danish Observer" says: "When Denmark, in 1814, was forced by the allied powers to cede Norway (with which country it had been united for more than four hundred years) to Sweden, the whole Norwegian nation arose and protested." What I object to in this statement are the words "to Sweden." That the powers,

—Russia, England, and Prussia,—*intended to cede Norway to Sweden* there is no doubt, but in the treaty of peace signed at Kiel, January 14, 1814, it was distinctly provided that "his Majesty the King of Denmark, in behalf of himself and his successors to the throne and the kingdom of Norway, forever renounces all his rights and claims to the kingdom of Norway in favor of the King of Sweden." According to this treaty, Norway was not ceded to Sweden any more than Sweden was ceded to Norway. The King of Denmark renounced his claims on Norway, not to the Swedish nation, but to the King of Sweden, and so Sweden, or the Swedish state, did not obtain any sovereignty over Norway. This interpretation of the treaty of Kiel is fully sustained by such eminent Swedish authorities as Herman Ludvig Rydin and Hans Forsell.

The fact that Norway owes no allegiance to Sweden is also plainly set forth in the first para-



graph of the constitution of Norway, which reads: "Norway is a free, independent, indivisible, and inalienable kingdom, united with Sweden under one king." This was adopted by the assembly at Eidsvold, May 17, 1814, and ratified by the act of union with Sweden, November 4 of the same year. Even among highly educated people, however, it is a common opinion that Norway is in some way a dependency of Sweden, while the fact is that, in accordance with all documents bearing on the subject, Norway is no more subject to Sweden than Sweden is to Norway. Imagine how you would offend a Swede if you intimated to him that his country belonged to Norway. Since 1884, Norway has enjoyed a parliamentary system of government such as do England and France. The cabinet, or council of state, must be in harmony with the majority of the Storting. The Storting unanimously passed the law creating a separate consular system. The King refusing his approval, the cabinet resigned, and as the King could find no one to form a new ministry, and was incompetent, under the law, to govern without a ministry, he in fact deposed himself. He made it necessary for the Storting to find some one else to perform the functions of government.

In my opinion, the dissolution of the union will be a blessing to both countries concerned. So long as Norway and Sweden are united under one king, there will be friction. The one nation will be jealous of the other. Sweden, as the larger country, will at times like to make

some exhibition of her power and authority, and Norway, as the smaller country, will be jealous, and will imagine she is trodden upon even when she is not. The long union between Denmark and Norway was a constant source of irritation and bickerings, but since the two became separated they have been the best of friends. Let Norway and Sweden dissolve partnership, and there will be no better friends in all Europe than these two nations. No alliance on paper will be needed. In time of peril, either one would rush to arms in defense of the other. Two farmers may live side by side for a lifetime without having any trouble, but if they were partners and each had some claim on the other's property, misunderstandings could scarcely fail to arise. What is true of two farmers applies with no less force to two nations. A separate Norway and Sweden can be of mutual help; bound together under one king, they would be fated to disagree for all time. The Norwegians are, by their experience, intelligence, and education, abundantly able to govern their own country and manage their own affairs.

England and America owe much to old Norway and to the Viking spirit for the free institutions they enjoy, and it would seem that they now have an opportunity to pay a part of this debt by recognizing promptly the birth of Norway as a separate and independent nation, either as a constitutional monarchy or,—still better,—as a new republic.

RASMUS B. ANDERSON.

MADISON, Wis.

## A SWEDISH VIEW OF THE "REVOLUTION."

**K**ING OSCAR of Sweden and Norway could not have acted otherwise than he did when the Norwegian crisis came. The Swedes have not refused the Norwegians their own consuls. They have, however, always insisted that the question of separate consuls for Norway was so closely connected with the question of the consuls' diplomatic responsibility that both these questions ought to be solved at the same time. Sweden was not willing to pave the way for an independent Norwegian minister of foreign affairs, but consented that the minister of foreign affairs for the union might be either a Swede or a Norwegian. This proposition was not accepted. Nothing but absolute independence would satisfy the Norwegian radicals. I fear that they

have made a mistake by their revolution, which I sincerely regret. No telegraphic message, letter, or newspaper has arrived from Sweden indicating what action the Swedish "Riksdag" (Congress) will take when it convenes on July 1. [This was written on June 19.] Opinions will be divided. The feeling between the two nations seems to be better than could be expected under the circumstances, and it may perhaps be possible that King Oscar, for whom the Norwegians as well as the Swedes have the greatest regard, will permit one of his sons to accept the Norwegian crown, providing, of course, that the Riksdag recognizes an independent kingdom of Norway, outside of the union.

CHICAGO, Ill.

JOHN A. ENANDER.



# THE FREIGHT RATES THAT WERE MADE BY THE RAILROADS.

BY W. D. TAYLOR.

(Professor of Railway Engineering in the University of Wisconsin.)

THE popular support now given the movement to place the making or control of railway freight rates in the hands of State and national political commissions can hardly be explained upon any other theory than that the public has been brought to believe that the railway corporations are engaged in a combined effort to increase the rates throughout the country.

The principal object sought in this paper is to show that the history of railway transportation in this country all tends to prove that such a move on the part of the roads would, in the main, be against their own interest.

It attempts, incidentally, to show also: (1) that present rates are reasonable; (2) that the unrivaled prosperity and progress of the country is due primarily to cheap transportation; and (3) that in any authority given a political commission over railway rates the utmost care is necessary lest there be endangered that elasticity in rate-making which has been the first essential in the plan upon which our transportation system has developed.

The early railways, as well as the early legislatures that granted their charters, were all at sea as to what rates should be charged for freight transportation. The Petersburg Railroad, in Virginia, was prohibited in its charter from charging more than 12½ cents per ton-mile. The Central Railroad, in Michigan, in 1838, operated by the State, charged 12½ cents per ton-mile on flour. But in the same year the Mohawk & Hudson carried flour at 4 cents per ton-mile and light goods at 6 cents. In the early operation of the Liverpool & Manchester Railway, the freight charge per ton-mile was between 8 and 9 cents. Soon after the opening of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad the freight charge was 6 cents per ton-mile, and about the same on the State road from Philadelphia to Columbia. In 1840, the flour rate from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia was \$1.55 a barrel, or a little less than 4 cents per ton-mile.

Flour, coal, tobacco, and cotton were the principal articles of freight traffic, and these were carried by rail for only short distances. Rates were so high that many articles now carried

everywhere could not bear the cost of movement. Live stock was driven on foot. Whiskey (there was relatively heavy traffic in this article) was carried on the common roads.

The result of such rates was that freight did not move. For years the early lines in the trunk-line territory, which now measure the freight carried in their cars in millions of tons, earned more from their light passenger traffic than from freight. These lines now operate their passenger service as a side issue, to comply with their obligations as common carriers and to stimulate freight traffic.

These early lines were justified in charging high rates. The cost of operation was high. On the Baltimore & Ohio, in 1831, it took a train of eight cars to haul 200 barrels of flour, and the entire loaded train weighed 28 tons,—about the weight of an ordinary present-day passenger coach.

The distinguished civil engineer, Charles Ellet, Jr., writing in the *Mechanics' Magazine* (New York), in April, 1844, said that eight or ten of the railroads of the country had worn out the common half-inch flat bar rail by carrying 150,000 net tons of freight over their lines. The Camden & Amboy wore out its 40-pound "edge rail" with 400,000 net tons of traffic. In nine years the rails of the Liverpool & Manchester line had to be entirely replaced four times. From 1825 to 1842, the net traffic on the Stockton & Darlington, which had been carried in light cars at speeds of six miles an hour, summed up 6,500,000 tons. Besides a great amount of patching, the rail of the track had then been entirely renewed six times. The London & Birmingham started in constructing its line with 50-pound iron rail, which was worn out before the road was completed. Ellet, in the article referred to, figured that the cost of rail-wear alone per ton-mile of net freight on the Reading road was 4.75 mills.

Now, rail-wear is only one of the fifty-three items of railway operating expenses outlined by the Interstate Commerce Commission. At the present time, with our rail made of steel instead of iron, rail-wear generally amounts to about 1.5 per cent. of the total of all operating ex-

penses. We can gain some insight into the economies brought about in railway operation when we note from the table on page 72, that at the present time the average railway receipt per ton-mile at which heavy freight is carried by all our roads from the great interior of the country to the Atlantic seaboard is less than was the actual cost of this single item of rail-wear in 1844. On many lines, indeed, the heavier articles of freight are carried at rates very much below what this single item of expenditure amounted to at that time.

The regular rate on corn from Omaha to New York in December, 1904, was 3.6 mills per ton-mile. On February 7, 1905, in competition with the Gulf lines for this traffic, this rate was cut by the Eastern lines to 1.85 mills per ton-mile. However, this last is certainly not a remunerative rate under present conditions of railway traffic.

But at least two railway lines in the United States, which together handle a freight traffic each year of from 20,000,000 to 25,000,000 tons, have become immensely prosperous by hauling all their freight, high grade and low class, under average freight receipts for the eight years ending June 30, 1904, of considerably less than this single cost of rail-wear in 1844. The average charge per ton-mile of all freight for eight years on the Norfolk & Western Railroad has been 4.54 mills, and 4.04 mills on the Chesapeake & Ohio.

In many other lines of business the capitalists in control have pocketed the increase in the receipts produced by economies in operation and manufacture. But in the railway business freight rates have been so administered that the public, rather than the capitalists, has reaped the benefits resulting from the marvelous economies that have been developed in the cost of transportation. It is true the railways have not done this in a spirit of philanthropy, but the public benefit was none the less for that.

#### FALLING RATES INCREASE THE TRAFFIC AND THE EARNINGS.

The beginning of our modern transportation system does not run so far back in our history as it is oftentimes placed. It may be said to date from the year 1851, when, upon the completion of the Erie Railroad, the New York Central was relieved of the arbitrary tolls which had been imposed upon its traffic to prevent its competition with the Erie Canal.

Perhaps it would be too severe to say that the modern transportation system began to develop as soon as the State ceased to interfere with railway rates and allowed the rates, the traffic,

and the country to grow up together. In 1851, passenger and freight business were nearly equal. The total railway earnings were \$19,000,000 from the one and \$20,000,000 from the other. By 1867, at least, the freight business was 70 per cent. of the whole. In 1852, the total tonnage hauled on the New York Central and the Erie roads was 767,000 tons. In five years this was increased to 260 per cent. of this amount. The rates continued to fall because the carrying capacity of the roads was in excess of the freight offering.

As the rates fell off both the traffic and the earnings increased. The following statement shows the relation that developed on the New York Central between rates, tonnage, and earnings :

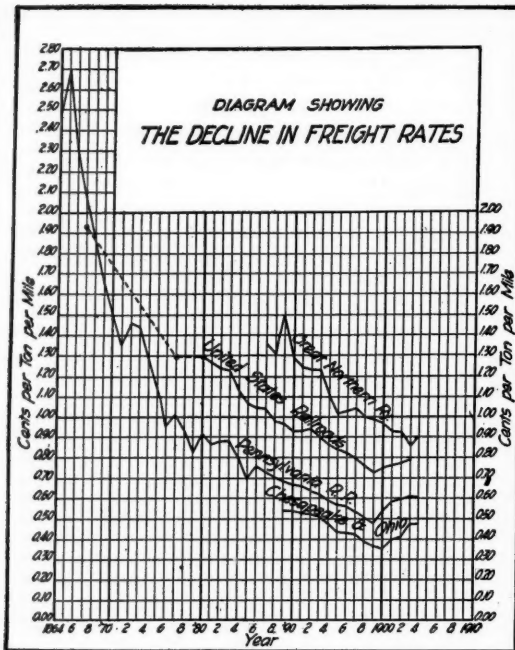
Year.	Charge per ton-mile (cents).	Tons of freight carried (thousands).	Gross earnings from freight (thousands).
1860.....	2.07	1,366	\$4,944
1870.....	1.86	4,122	14,327
1880.....	0.88	10,533	22,200

Thus, the roads learned that heavy tonnage at low rates was more profitable than light tonnage at high rates.

It is frequently stated that there has been no system in the making of railroad freight rates. But there is a law upon which they are constructed that every traffic man from Maine to San Francisco knows must be observed,—rates must move the freight, and, if possible, must move it in increasing quantities.

The decline in freight rates in the United States since the Civil War is shown graphically in the diagram on page 72; also, the rates on certain special roads for a number of years. It should be noted that the tonnage and the earnings continued to increase with the falling freight rates right down to the end of the century. For the whole United States the earnings per ton-mile in 1880 were \$1.29 cents; the freight carried, 350,000,000 tons (estimated), and the gross earnings from freight, \$468,000,000. In 1890, these figures were, respectively, 0.93 cents, 701,000,000 tons, and \$740,000,000. In 1900, these figures were 0.75 cents, 1,071,000,000 tons, and \$1,052,000,000.

The history of railway development has been the same in one particular, that whenever a pioneer railway was built into a community freight rates became lower. The last of the pioneer roads, the Great Northern, was completed in 1893, just before the Chicago World's Fair began the celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. The completion of this great work was signalized by no other celebration than by an immediate



and substantial reduction in transcontinental freight rates.

But the decline in rates could not continue always. The average rate of decline from 1880 to 1899 continued to 1924 would bring freight rates down to zero. The decline was checked in 1899 by the wave of prosperity which made it necessary to increase wages and to pay higher prices for all the material used in railway operation. The records show that the decline was checked, but who shall say the decline is permanently stopped?

The cost per ton-mile is too uncertain a unit to base exact calculations upon. Although the average price per ton-mile increased 5.4 per cent. from 1899 to 1903, all of this increase could be accounted for by an increase in the proportion of high-class freight since 1899. Mr. E. P. Bacon, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Interstate Commerce Law Convention, held at St. Louis in 1904, testified recently before the joint committee on railroads of the Wisconsin Legislature that the ton-mile receipt might change as much as 50 per cent. without any change whatever in the freight rate.

Mr. Hill, of the Great Northern road, recently declared before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce that he believed that if the railroads were given fair treatment, in twenty years the average freight rate would reach a half-cent per ton-mile.

#### OUR CHEAP LONG-HAUL FREIGHTS.

The following were cited as typical long-distance freight rates in the United States and Canada for 1903 in an address before the Canadian Society of Civil Engineers by President H. W. Blackwell:

	Rates.	Haul in miles.	Rate per ton per mile in cts.
<b>All-rail rates—</b>			
Chicago to Portland, Maine,—grain*....	\$0.16	1,138	0.31
Chicago to New York,—grain*.....	0.16	971	0.37
Brandon to St. John, N. B.—grain*.....	0.35	2,038	0.37
Spring Hill, N. S., to Montreal,—coal†..	1.80	738	0.25
<b>Lake and rail rates—</b>			
Chicago to Montreal,—grain*.....	0.13	1,080	0.26
Brandon to St. John, N. B.—grain*.....	0.25	2,038	0.22
Chicago to Montreal,—grain‡.....	0.08	827	0.21
<b>Inland water rates—</b>			
Duluth to Cleveland,—iron ore†.....	0.80	875	0.09
Chicago to New York,—grain §.....	0.09	1,330	0.15
Chicago to Montreal,—grain*.....	0.12	1,175	0.23
Duluth to Quebec,—grain*.....	0.12	1,580	0.17
<b>Ocean rates—</b>			
Montreal to Antwerp,—grain per quar..	£ 1 3	3,250	0.044
Antwerp to Montreal,—steel rails per ton	0 7 3	3,250	0.053
Montreal to Liverpool,—grain per quar.	0 1 3	2,900	0.046

It is difficult to compare the freight rates obtaining in the United States with those in other countries on account of the difference in the conditions under which the freight is moved, and on account of the fact that traffic statistics are kept differently in Europe from what they are in America, but the statistician, Mulhall, said just before his death that the average freight rate (reduced to cents per ton-mile) in the various countries were:

United Kingdom.....	2.80	Italy.....	2.50	Russia.....	\$2.40
France.....	2.20	Germany.....	1.64	Belgium.....	1.60
Holland.....	1.56	United States.....	0.80		

These rates are quite different from those shown in the last edition (1899) of Mulhall, but that edition and the above statement both agree in showing that the United States has by far the cheapest rates in the world. This statement should be qualified, however, by noting that the distinctive feature of American freight traffic is that so large a proportion of it is shipped over long distances and in car or train load lots. On such traffic American rates are so much lower than anywhere else in the world that these heavy tonnage rates bring down the average tonnage rate to a very low figure. Still, it is true that the short-haul rates on goods in small lots in this country are generally as great or greater than those obtaining even in England.

\* Per 100 pounds. † Per ton. ‡ Via Canada Pacific. § Via Erie Canal, per 100 pounds.

1 "Transactions of the American Society of Civil Engineers," Vol. LIV., Part B, page 477.



However, it is the long-haul freight in heavy lots which has been the principal factor in the development and progress of the country.

#### CHEAP TRANSPORTATION AS AN ELEMENT IN NATIONAL PROSPERITY.

Let us consider for a moment just how prosperous our country is. Mr. Charles M. Harvey, in the February *World's Work*, estimates the present (1905) total wealth of several countries in billions of dollars as follows: Spain, 12; Italy, 18; Austro-Hungary, 30; Russia, 35; Germany, 48; France, 50; United Kingdom, 55; United States, 110. The *per capita* wealth in the United States was \$850 in 1880, \$1,039 in 1890, \$1,236 in 1900, and, according to Mr. Harvey, \$1,325 in 1905. In 1850, the wealth *per capita* was \$308. Thus, in spite of the great influx of penniless people from southern Europe, the mere increase in the average individual wealth from 1880 to 1900 was considerably greater than the total amount each individual possessed in 1850.

Figures compiled from the "Annual Review of the Foreign Commerce of the United States" for September, 1904, show that from 1880 to 1903 the consumption of pig iron in the United States increased 437 per cent.; the consumption of coal, 364 per cent.; the consumption of cotton, 107 per cent.; and the export of domestic manufactures, 340 per cent. The value of manufactures increased 85 per cent. from 1888 to 1900. In all of these the ratio of increase has been very much greater than in France, England, Germany, or Russia, with the single exception of the consumption of cotton in Germany, which has increased more than in the United States. The increase per cent. of the value of manufactures has been about double and of the export of domestic manufactures about five times that of any of the countries named.

It is doubtful if many of those who are calling for radical governmental control over transportation charges have stopped to inquire what has been the chief agency in making it possible to relate this wonderful tale of prosperity and progress.

In a thoughtful paper read before the International Engineering Congress at the St. Louis World's Fair, last fall, the distinguished engineer, Mr. E. P. North, analyzed the causes of our great growth in wealth. He showed that it is not due so much to fertile soil, cheap land, and natural resources as to cheap transportation. His conclusion is:

In one great source of national wealth,—namely, cost of transportation,—which is not a natural product, the United States has an undisputed advantage over all

other countries. . . . Not only does a low freight rate allow more to be divided between producer and consumer, but it has a more potent effect in inviting the production of commodities which with higher freight charges could not reach consumers. . . . There is no doubt that our railroad freight rates are the lowest in the world. Nor is there reason to doubt that the low cost of assembling and distributing our commodities has had an important influence on their production and consumption.

In 1903, the average amount paid for freight movement by each inhabitant of the United States was \$16.72. Had the rate paid been the same as it was in 1880 and the same freight movement made, the freight charge *per capita* would have been \$27.40. If the freight rate of 1880 had remained stationary, as it has practically done in England, and the country had made the same freight movement that has been made since then, there would have been paid to the transportation companies in excess of what has been paid since that date 13.5 per cent. of the total increase in wealth since that date. If the same freight movement from 1880 to 1904 had been made, and the freight rates had been as high as in England in 1895, 62 per cent. of the total growth in wealth would have been consumed in additional freight rates.

Thus, there can be no doubt but that, on the whole, the freight rates of the country have been adjusted in the past in very nearly the best way possible for the upbuilding of the country's commerce.

There is no small amount of truth in the assertion quoted by Prof. Hugo R. Meyer in his recent testimony before the Interstate Commerce Committee of the United States Senate:

American railway rates are the result of arbitration and warfare; they have been heated and forged and welded and pounded and hammered into their present shape, and they are about as nearly right as practical people can make them.

#### THE DEMAND FOR A COMPETENT RATE-REVIEWING COMMISSION JUSTIFIABLE.

Besides the 5.4 per cent. average increase in the freight rates of the whole country, there are certain large roads operating from the great interior of the country to the Atlantic seaboard on which rates have been increased in very much higher ratio. Without any very great change in the character of the traffic, the average rate on the Norfolk & Western was increased 24 per cent. from 1899 to 1904. On the Chesapeake & Ohio the character of the traffic has not materially changed, but the average freight rate was increased by nearly 33 per cent. between 1900 and 1903. Perhaps these increased freight rates are justifiable, but the average man would

be more ready to accept them if their fairness were passed upon by a competent, impartial commission.

#### DISCRIMINATIONS AGAINST LOCALITIES.

It cannot be maintained that the rates which have been so beneficial on the whole have been equitably adjusted all around. President Mellen, of the New Haven road, has said that there have been great abuses in railroad-made freight rates, and has intimated that governmental authority is needed in the matter. The clamor for rate regulation is not to be explained by the desire to correct the comparatively few flagrant cases of wrong-doing arising from rebates to favored shippers, private car lines, and private industrial railroads. Coupled with the fear of a general rise in freight rates, there is in many communities a lively sense of injury from rates which are regularly discriminating.

The average freight rate in New England is 76 per cent. in excess of the average rate in the territory immediately west and southwest. The character of the traffic warrants a considerable excess in the rate in this territory; but since there is less railway competition in New England than in any other part of the United States, New Englanders would be better pleased if the justice of the rates charged them could be passed upon by a disinterested body.

In Governor La Follette's State, uncontroverted evidence was produced before the Wisconsin Legislature, in 1903, showing that the charge on a 30-ton car of coal, both hard and soft, on two lines of road operated by the same company, was from \$13 to \$15 more from Milwaukee across the State of Wisconsin to La Crosse than for practically the same distance from Chicago across the State of Illinois to Savannah. The territories mentioned in the two cases are contiguous. In both cases the coal is shipped from a Lake Michigan port to a Mississippi River point. More recent testimony before the same body tended to show that on lines operated by the same companies freight rates on live stock and grain for the same distances are 23 and 28 per cent. higher, respectively, in southern Wisconsin in territory tributary to Milwaukee than in the contiguous territory in northern Illinois tributary to Chicago. Of course, traffic men can advance good reasons from their point of view why such conditions should exist, but it is certain that these reasons are not always satisfactory to the patrons of the roads, and it is somewhat doubtful if they would always satisfy a properly constituted impartial authority.

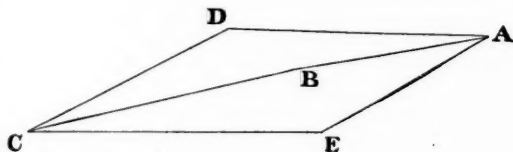
In an argument before the same body, the general solicitor of the Chicago, Milwaukee &

St. Paul road presented a table showing his estimate of the cost per ton-mile on the principal commodities of freight carried in Wisconsin. The lowest rate shown on this list on any article in which the average citizen of the State is interested was 6.7 mills per ton-mile on lumber; cement, brick, lime, and iron. This lowest single rate available to the average citizen of Wisconsin on any one commodity in which he is interested is a rate 48 and 66 per cent. higher, respectively, than the average rate at which the Norfolk & Western and the Chesapeake & Ohio have done a most lucrative business for eight years.

#### THE POWER OF THE LARGE SHIPPER.

The railways themselves oftentimes need higher authorities than their traffic managers to uphold their rates when they are attacked by large shippers. Mr. Midgley's able exposition of the private-car-line evil is a case in point. It is too often the case that the large shipper either dictates or controls the rate under which his goods are shipped. The average traffic man is polite but perfectly independent in dealing with the small shipper. He is extremely conciliatory to the frequent shipper of goods or produce in car-load lots. But he is on his knees to the shipper who sends his goods in regular train-loads.

A traffic official in a position of great responsibility recently illustrated the manner in which railway-traffic men were forced by large shippers to manipulate rates in their interest as follows:



At "A" and "B" there were industrial plants, with a common market at "C." The output of the plant at "A" was large, and there were several routes to "C." The output of the plant at "B" was small, and there was practically only one route to "C."

When the goods from "B" began to interfere with the sale of goods from "A" the traffic men of the line "A, B, C" were called on to make the rates from "B" to "C" the same as from "A" to "C," else that line would lose its proportion of the traffic from "A" to "C." The proportion of this traffic the line "A, B, C" was receiving at "A" was of very much more value than the traffic from "B" to "C." What could a struggling road do but make the change in

the freight rates that forced the plant at "B" out of business? And it was clearly against the interest of the railway from "B" to "C" to have the plant at "B" suspend.

In many such instances it would be to the interest of railway corporations to have the rate-making power in the hands of a commission if it could only be assumed that the commission would be competent and impartial.

#### LENGTH OF HAUL ALONE SHOULD NOT DETERMINE RATES.

A politically constituted commission endowed with federal authority would probably be forced ultimately, as contended by Professor Meyer, by the rivalry of local competition, to base rates it would authorize principally on geographical conditions. The length of haul would govern rates on each article. But the commerce of the country has thriven *because* the railways have largely ignored distance in making their rates,—because they have broken down geographical limitations. For example, three-dollar shoes made in Boston are sold at the same price all over the Union. The time may come, when the country is developed, with its industries settled down in definite lines, when it would be advisable to have freight rates on each article based on distance. But that time does not seem to have arrived yet even in England, and it is certainly a long way off in this expanding country.

Mr. Hugh Munro Ross, in his recent work on British railways (Edward Arnold: London, 1904), page 186, says:

The theory of equal mileage rates has over and over again been examined and found wanting by parliamentary committees and royal commissions as unfair to the railways and bad for the public interest.

#### COMMISSIONERS SHOULD HAVE TECHNICAL TRAINING.

For many a year to come there is little doubt that the interest of the whole country can best be served if the practice of the railways is not interfered with of introducing experimental rates which are abolished when found ill-advised or unprofitable. It is difficult to see how a federal commission endowed with direct authority over interstate freight rates is to permit the necessary latitude for experimental rates unless the commission is made non-political, and is composed largely of members who have had technical training in rate-making. It is useless to urge that the measures proposed at the present time do not include granting direct rate-making powers to the commission.

If the commission is to be given power to redress what is wrong in rate-making, it is at least

possible that *any* rate may soon be attacked and the commission called upon to name the rate that shall hold. Therefore it is of the utmost importance both to the public and to the railways that the commission shall be composed of members who are trained in the business they have in hand.

For the railways the most hopeful sign in all this agitation is that the most advanced thinkers on this subject, and those best fitted to advise, are all coming to the conclusion that the character of the future commission is the crux of the whole matter.

Mr. Midgley, in a recent issue of the *Railway Age*, quoted the clauses in the Interstate Commerce Law of 1887 that provided that,—

Not more than three of the commissioners shall be appointed from the same political party.

No person in the employ of or holding any official relation to any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act, or owning stock or bonds thereof, or who is in any manner pecuniarily interested therein, shall enter upon the duties of or hold such office.

In commenting sarcastically upon these provisions, he said:

If a medical or legal commission were to be created, men learned in those professions would be selected, and the unfitness of other parties would be conceded; but the opposite rule has almost invariably been pursued when the question of a commission to regulate railroads has been under consideration.

In his Boston *Transcript* article, after expounding his plan of establishing a special railroad court, President Hadley said:

With such a court to exercise the judicial functions now assumed by the Interstate Commerce Commission, the character of that commission would naturally be changed. It should consist, not of lawyers, but of railroad experts, and should be charged with the duty of furnishing technical assistance to the new court in determining obscure and complex matters of fact.

The need of some expert authority which shall represent the court, as distinct from either of the contending parties, becomes very great. Such a technical commission should, I think, include three men who were trained in the traffic department of the railroad service, one in the operating department, and one in the financial department. It would not be necessary, or even desirable, to include a representative of the shippers or a representative of the legal department of railroads. The presence of such men on the commission would simply obscure the purpose for which it was intended,—the purpose of ascertaining facts needed by the court as a basis for its decision.

But from the railway point of view the most encouraging recent development in the agitation of the rate-making question was the speech of President Roosevelt before the Texas Legislature, in which he said:

The proper exercise of that power is conditioned upon the securing of proper legislation which will enable the representatives of the public to see to it that any unjust or oppressive discriminating rates are altered so as to be a just and fair rate, and are altered immediately. I know perfectly well that when you give that power there is a chance of its being occasionally abused. There must be a certain trust placed in the common sense and common honesty of those who are to enforce the law. If it ever falls to my lot (and I

think it will) to nominate a board to carry out such a law, I shall nominate men, so far as I am able, on whose ability, courage, and integrity I can count,—men who will not be swayed by any influence whatever, direct or indirect, social, political, or any other, to show improper favoritism for the railroads, and who, on the other hand, if a railroad is unjustly attacked, no matter if that attack has behind it the feeling of prejudice of 99 per cent. of the people, will stand up against that attack.

## THE LA FOLLETTE RAILROAD LAW IN WISCONSIN.

BY JOHN R. COMMONS.

(Professor of Political Economy in the University of Wisconsin.)

WHEN the record of the Wisconsin Legislature of 1905 is summed up it will show a series of enactments remarkable in their union of progressivism and conservatism. This is especially true of the law regulating railway charges and services. The Legislature and the governor, as is well known, were elected on this issue, after a campaign national in the interest aroused. This campaign, with its split in the Republican party and its new alignment of voters, was the culmination of a struggle extending through the past ten years and marked during preceding legislative sessions by an anti-pass law, a law taxing railway companies on the full value of their property, and a primary-election law. The part enacted by Governor La Follette in this movement was portrayed in the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* for March last. The purpose of the present article is to analyze the railway law just passed, to point out its significant features, and to indicate both its likeness and unlikeness to similar laws in other States, and the reasons advanced therefor.

Wisconsin was one of the four "Granger" States, which in the early seventies revolutionized the policies of the State governments toward railways. The "Potter" law of 1874 was similar to laws enacted in the same year in Iowa and Minnesota, and in 1871 in Illinois. These laws created State railway commissions, with power to fix maximum rates. Coming, as they did, in the midst of an industrial panic and depression, and being admittedly crude and novel, the railway companies were able, in 1876, to secure their repeal in all of the Granger States except Illinois. The agitation, however, was renewed, and, following the year when the interstate-commerce law was enacted, the States of Iowa and Minnesota returned to the policy of 1874-76. A similar

bill, introduced in the Wisconsin Legislature in 1889 by the Hon. H. A. Taylor, afterward Pacific Railway commissioner and Assistant Treasurer of the United States, came near adoption, but was defeated. It came up again in legislative sessions during the nineties, but was again defeated. It was then held in abeyance by Governor La Follette and his supporters until the anti-pass, taxation, and primary-election laws could be disposed of. Finally, in the session of 1903, following the governor's message on the subject, a bill was again introduced, but after a heated discussion in and out of the Legislature, including a second and special message from the governor, it was defeated in the Assembly. The record of that Legislature and of the governor became the issue of 1904, and there has perhaps never been an act of State legislation so eagerly studied by all the people, with such masses of statistics, and such detailed comparisons with other States, as the revised and amended law of 1905, which came out of the proposed law of 1903. That bill was modeled after the law of Iowa, but the law of 1905 profits by the experience of all the States, and by many decisions of the State and federal courts. Compared with other laws, it is less sweeping and radical at some points, but more strongly bulwarked at others.

### AN APPOINTIVE COMMISSION.

This is seen in the importance attached to the provisions for selecting the three State railroad commissioners, and in the grant of large powers, with wide discretion in the use of those powers. Both of these features are a reversal of the tendency shown in other States. The salary of each commissioner is fixed at \$5,000, a sum more than double that of the Iowa commis-



sioners and 40 per cent. greater than that of the Illinois commissioners. The secretary receives \$2,500, while those of adjoining States are paid \$1,500 and \$1,800. The terms of the commissioners are six years, one to be appointed each alternate year. Of course, the object in view is to keep the commission from falling into the hands of the railways, and to avoid such an outcome as that in Iowa, for example, where the commission is notoriously reputed, throughout Wisconsin, at least, to be composed of three men nominated, respectively, by the three great railway systems of that State. The contest on this point turned mainly on the method of selection, whether by popular election or by governor's appointment. It is quite noteworthy that the railways contended for election, while the governor and the legislative majority were for appointment; and this notwithstanding the example of nine States which have changed from appointive to elective commissions, leaving only six of the States that regulate rates with appointive commissions, against sixteen with elective commissions. More especially is this reversal of the trend in other States noteworthy since Wisconsin, under the leadership of Governor La Follette, has just adopted a comprehensive primary-election law designed for the very purpose of preventing the corporations from controlling party conventions and elective officers.

Insistence on an appointive commission by those who had so recently reformed the primaries was alleged by the railway spokesmen as a gross inconsistency. They argued against concentration of power in the hands of the executive, and were willing to risk the election of radical commissioners in the present state of the public mind, looking to the courts for protection, and expecting such commissioners to discredit themselves and the law and to provoke a reaction, as had been the case with the Potter law in 1876, rather than see the first commission appointed by the present governor. It is felt on all sides that the character of these first appointments will, more than anything else, decide the fate of the new law, and it is expected that each biennial election of a governor preceding the biennial appointment of a commissioner will keep the voters awake on the railway question. The nature of the duties and powers of the commission also indicates that selection by appointment rather than by election will more likely secure men of the qualifications required.

#### THE ROADS STILL FREE TO MAKE SPECIAL RATES.

These duties and powers are stated in the broadest terms, with very little that is mandatory and very much that is discretionary. In

the first place, a break again is made away from the trend in other States, in that the commission is not required to fix a classification of goods or a schedule of all rates to be charged, but is authorized to review any or all rates made by the roads, and then, after a full hearing, to substitute a reasonable rate. The commission does not lay down any rule for arriving at a tariff, but takes into account every element that has a bearing or influence on the rate. The law in this respect is less radical than other recent legislation, for in twelve years the number of States in which the commission *must* make complete schedules of freight rates for each railroad has increased from seven to thirteen, while the number in which the commission *may* make specific rates has decreased from eight to seven.

This, too, is a change from the tenor of the bills hitherto introduced in the Wisconsin Legislature. Perhaps no part of the proposed law aroused more discussion throughout the State than the one that led to this feature of the adopted law. It was on this point that many of the manufacturers and other shippers were aroused and were led to join with the roads in opposition to any legislation whatever. It was contended that a State commission could not take into account competitive and market conditions, because it could establish a schedule only upon a rigid mileage basis,—a “distance tariff,” so called. This would interfere with many industries and localities which had been built up through “special,” or “commodity” or “group,” rates, in which distance was ignored in order to place competitors on an equality in the great markets. There were also “transit” rates, “concentration” rates, “local” rates, and “terminal” rates,—altogether, a bewildering variety of peculiar rates not amenable to the mechanical classification and inelastic schedules which a public body was assumed to be bound by. The governor had recommended that the commission be given power to make commodity rates, and to vary them with the requirements of any situation, “assigning upon their records their reasons for any special exception made.” In the final outcome, the law definitely states that “nothing in this act shall be construed to prevent concentration, commodity, transit, and other special contract rates, but all such rates shall be open to all shippers for a like kind of traffic under similar circumstances and conditions, . . . provided all such rates shall be under the supervision and regulation of the commission.” Thus, by leaving the initiative to the roads, they are free, as before, to adapt their rates to industrial conditions, but the commission is at hand to check their acts if they are

unjustly discriminatory. The roads can even make non-compensatory rates in order to stimulate business and increase other forms of traffic if they see fit to do so,—an act which, if ordered by a State commission, would be overruled by the courts.

One feature of the law which, however, is the same as that in sixteen of the twenty States that regulate rates is the power of the commission to fix an absolute rate rather than to declare what shall be a maximum rate. It thus is made unlawful as much for the company to charge less than the commission rate as to charge more than that rate. This naturally follows from the intention to prevent unjust discrimination between shippers and communities,—an object equally important with that of preventing excessive charges.

#### RATES MUST BE PROVED UNREASONABLE BEFORE ACTION IS TAKEN.

The theory of the new law seems to be that the railroads have their experts with years of experience in making rates and handling traffic; but that no body of men, however expert, can be trusted in all cases and at all times to use their uncontrolled power, upon which the wealth and prosperity of the State depends, in a manner fair and reasonable. On the other hand, no body of men selected by the State can have the expert qualifications and the detailed information that come from daily contact with the problems. On this account, the rates made by the railroads are in effect held to be, *prima facie*, reasonable and lawful. This is a radical distinction from the laws in those States which require the commission to fix a complete schedule of rates, the evident assumption there being that the road's rates are, *prima facie*, unlawful and unreasonable.

These rates in Wisconsin, however, may be challenged, but the burden of proof is upon the complainant to show that they are unreasonable. The railroad commission is the board of review to investigate the complaint, with all the powers over witnesses, books, and testimony intrusted to a court of record. It gives the railroad company and the complainant ten days' notice of a hearing; upon which, if it find proof that the rate is "unreasonable or unjustly discriminatory," it fixes a reasonable rate, and its order takes effect of its own force in twenty days after service on the railway officer. Thenceforth, the legal situation is reversed. The rates fixed by the commission now in turn become, *prima facie*, lawful and reasonable, and the burden of proof is upon the railway company if it goes into court and asks that they be overruled. Upon the several

steps involved in these provisions the contest in the Senate committee, where the principal struggle occurred, was prolonged and intense, and it is most remarkable that, starting with opposing views, that committee reported a bill unanimously which then was unanimously adopted by both houses and signed by the governor.

The first step in the controversy related to the source of complaint against the rates or regulations of the roads. The companies contended that only shippers were affected, and that they only should be entitled to enter complaint. But it was shown that public interests were involved, and that localities might be injuriously affected. Consequently, the law entertains complaints "of any person, firm, corporation, or association, or of any mercantile, agricultural, or manufacturing society, or of any body politic or municipal organization." A railroad itself is permitted to make complaint against another railroad, and there is nothing in the law to prevent the commission from raising the rates of a road that is resorting to a destructive rate war.

#### THE COMMISSION ITSELF MAY TAKE THE INITIATIVE.

Next, the railroads, continuing the idea that the commission should be a quasi-judicial body, held that, conceding that it might decide on complaints, it should not itself initiate investigations. But the committee decided that the commission should be actually, what the courts have supported legally, an arm of the Legislature, and gave it power, "upon its own motion," to investigate any rate or charge. It thus becomes the organ, as stated by the governor, "of the great body of the people of Wisconsin, who bear in the aggregate the principal burden of the freight rates," but who "could not appear before the commission to make complaint," nor "state their complaint or allege the measure of the wrong imposed upon them." The procedure, when initiation is by the commission, is the same as when a complaint is made.

#### THE RAILROADS AND THE COURTS.

After the commission has made its order to substitute a rate or to change a regulation, the question arises as to the status of the interested parties before the courts. The railroads asked that they should have the right of appeal, and that such appeal should operate to stay the order fixing the rate until a judicial decision was reached. They conceded that where the findings of the commission are sustained by the court the rate should take effect as of the date fixed by the commission's order, and that the carriers should make repayment of all freight rates in excess thereof, with interest at the legal rate;

yet when the roads attempted to draw up a plan by which these repayments could be made, it was found wholly impracticable. It was agreed that they always have the remedy of injunction anyhow. But the committee finally decided against the right of appeal, and provided that the railroad or other party in interest might commence an action in the Circuit Court against the commission as defendant to vacate its order, on the ground that any rate or classification made is unlawful, or that any regulation or practice prescribed is unreasonable. It might then be carried to the Supreme Court of the State. Provision is made for speedy trial.

The grounds for this procedure were constitutional in character. If an appeal were taken, the court would open the case *de novo*, would review the proceedings of the commission and pass upon its reasons, while the railroad's rates would continue to be, *prima facie*, lawful, and the burden of proof would rest upon the commission. But by the procedure adopted the commission's rates are, *prima facie*, lawful, the burden of proof is upon the railroad, and the court passes upon the lawfulness of the rate itself exactly as it would pass upon the constitutionality of a statute. The commission retains its rights as a legislative arm, and the court acts in its strictly judicial capacity of determining, under the constitution, whether the commission has exceeded its powers in establishing a rate that is unreasonable,—that is, unlawful. Incidental to this reasoning, but of great importance in determining the personnel of the commission, the latter is given a greater dignity than would be the case where an attorney enters exceptions and simply gives notice of appeal when the commission's rate or regulation is adverse. Of course, the road has the right of petitioning for a writ of injunction, but in that case it also must make out a *prima facie* cause, and the law provides that the temporary injunction, suspending or staying the order of the commission, shall not be issued *ex parte*, but only upon notice to the commission and hearing.

An interesting innovation in this procedure has been adopted, to the effect that if evidence is introduced by the railroad before the court different or additional to that offered before the commission the court shall transmit a copy of such evidence to the commission and shall allow fifteen days for the commission to amend or rescind its order. If the commission rescinds, the action is dismissed; if it amends, then the

amended order takes the place of the original order, as though made by the commission in the first instance. Otherwise, judgment is rendered on the original order. This unique provision is designed to induce the railroad to submit its entire case in the first instance to the commission, and thus to prevent the road from taking advantage of the commission, and thereby bringing discredit on it through repeated reversals of its decisions by the courts. This suggestion arose from knowledge of the treatment suffered by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and by commissions in other States.

#### A COMPREHENSIVE ENACTMENT.

There are miscellaneous features of the law which can only be mentioned. It, of course, prohibits rebates and discrimination, provides for inquiry into violations, for prosecutions and penalties, thus giving the commission power to enforce its orders. It covers passenger service as well as freight service. It includes express companies, private-car companies, refrigerator lines, sleeping-car companies, and interurban electric lines. It controls all rules and regulations, switching charges, and so on, that in any manner affect the charge for transportation. It requires reasonably adequate service and facilities. It gives the commission power to require accounts, and especially "copies of all contracts which relate to the transportation of persons or property, or any service in connection therewith, made or entered into by it with any other railroad company, car company, equipment company, express or transportation company, or any shipper or shippers, or other person or persons doing business with it." It requires to be filed with the commission a verified list of all passes, tickets, or mileage books issued free or for less than the full established rates in cash, together with the names of recipients and the amounts received and the reasons for issuing them. The commission may employ experts and fix their compensation, and is required to determine the cost of construction and the value of physical properties, as well as various details regarding indebtedness, wages and hours of labor, and accidents. These and the other provisions described place the commission in the possession of accurate knowledge of all facts pertaining to the Wisconsin business of the roads, with both the weapon of publicity and the reserve power of compulsion.



# STREET-RAILWAY FARES IN LARGE CITIES.

BY HOWARD S. KNOWLTON.

IN the February number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS there appeared an interesting article by Mr. Edward Dana Durand upon street-railway fares in the United States, based largely upon the late Bulletin 3 of the United States Census Bureau. From the statistics given in this bulletin the author attempted to show that a reasonable profit could be derived from the street-railway business in the larger cities of this country if the present five-cent fare were abandoned in favor of something lower,—presumably, six tickets for twenty-five cents, or, possibly, a straight four-cent fare. He further contended that a still lower fare would be just in some individual cases, even at the present time, pointing out the probability that, in most great cities, the future growth of traffic will make further reductions in fare possible from time to time.

The importance of the street railway in the affairs of every-day life in the populous centers of the United States was ably shown by Mr. Durand. He emphasized most forcibly the improvement in transportation facilities which the almost universal adoption of electric motive power has brought about, admitting that the average passenger gets a longer ride to-day for his money than he did fifteen years ago; that the service is accompanied by higher speed and greater comfort; that the overcrowding of our great cities has been lessened enormously, and, finally, that the street-railway service is indeed worth more than we have to pay for it, although he questioned whether we do not have to pay more than it fairly costs. It would seem worth while, therefore, to look into this matter of fares still more closely, and attempt to ascertain from the standpoint of the transportation engineer whether or not the present charges are too high.

Any discussion of the rates charged by public-service corporations is pretty sure to resolve itself sooner or later into the old question, "What is a reasonable return upon an investment of this character?" Manifestly, this is a difficult problem to solve. In Mr. Durand's article, 5 per cent. is considered adequate, on the ground that there is little or no risk in the street-railway business of a great city. There is certainly room for wide difference of opinion upon this point. Granted the economic truth that the rate of return upon an investment

should be directly proportional to the risk, it is by no means clear that risk is conspicuously absent from the street-railway business, when one considers the harm which adverse franchise legislation is capable of doing to the symmetrical development and maintenance of a broad-minded transportation scheme in a given community.

The tendency of legislative bodies to demand heavier and heavier compensation for franchise rights of even very limited life is familiar to every student of street-railway affairs. Even supposing that we should determine 6 per cent., for instance, to represent a just return upon the street-railway investment of a particular city, we have in no sense solved the problem for other cities, for the reason that no two cities in this country are identical in topography, distribution of population, commercial and social conditions. Herein lies the danger of applying average figures to the specific problems of a particular city as a basis for legislation. Accurate comparisons are out of the question between cities of the peninsula type, for instance, having a comparatively small track mileage and a great traffic density upon that mileage, and cities built upon the radiating plan, having a greater mileage in proportion to the population served and smaller gross receipts per capita. The analysis of traffic problems in New York bears little relation to the dissection of transportation facilities and possibilities in Boston. The density of population has an enormous influence upon street-railway profits, and a knowledge of these differences in city plans and their bearing upon the earnings of transportation companies is absolutely essential to the theory of properly conducted transportation. Hence it is necessary to bear in mind that while average figures are interesting, and in many cases useful in establishing general conclusions, they must not be allowed to decide important questions of detail until the maximum and minimum limits of the special problem in hand are considered.

In connection with the question of an adequate return upon the street-railway investment of a large city, it is worth while to recall the ruling of Judge Seaman in the Milwaukee four-cent fare litigation of 1898. The substance of this ruling was that the best legal precedents forbade the imposition of such burdens that a reasonable rate of return upon the investment



could not be secured. In the case of limited-time franchises, losses of investment are possible and indeed probable at the expiration of the franchise period, and such losses, in common with all other contingencies possible to foresee, should be provided for by annual charges upon the earnings, upon the theory that—whatever happens—the investor must be guaranteed the return of his original investment intact before it is proper to declare annual returns upon that investment. Therefore, the element of depreciation must be taken into account before it can be determined that the apparent earnings derived from an operating enterprise are excessive, and there is much force also to the consideration which must be given to the question of amortizing losses from expiring franchises. A return of 6 per cent. upon loans upon real estate, mortgages, and similar securities is a common rate, and surely a better rate must be afforded for the risks of investment than can be accepted on securities of the class in which there is no risk.

#### CAN A FOUR-CENT FARE BE MADE TO PAY?

It is only just to Mr. Durand to state that he included an allowance for depreciation in estimating the total annual cost of street-railway service in a city of over 500,000 inhabitants, with the idea of determining a reasonable fare. The allowance which he made, however, will be considered further on with respect to its adequacy in the face of present-day conditions of operation. Meanwhile let us turn to the census figures themselves and see what a five-cent fare means in comparison with a four-cent and a three-cent fare applied to the street railways of the United States as a whole. Table 10, page 11, of the Bulletin gives the income account of the companies reporting in 1902, beginning with gross earnings from operation of \$247,553,999. Assuming these earnings reduced to a five, four, and three-cent basis, the table becomes:

	Cents.	Cents.	Cents.
Gross earnings from operation.....	5.00	4.00	3.00
Operating expenses.....	2.88	2.88	2.88
Net earnings from operation.....	2.12	1.12	.12
Income from other sources.....	.06	.06	.06
Gross income less operating expenses.	2.18	1.18	.18
Taxes.....	.26		
Interest.....	.77		
Rent.....	.51		
Miscellaneous.....	.03		
Deductions from income. 1.57.....	1.57	1.57	1.57
Net income.....	.61	— .39	— 1.39
Dividends.....	.32		
Surplus.....	.29		

It is clear from the foregoing figures that neither a four-cent fare nor a three-cent fare applied on the electric railways of this country would be adequate to support the business on a dividend basis. Neither would be sufficient to pay operating expenses and fixed charges. No allowance except that available from the surplus appears in these figures to cover depreciation charges and other sinking funds. The claim that lowered fares would result in correspondingly greater earnings is not supported by Mr. Durand, who states that in all probability five-sixths of the present patronage of the street railways is so near compulsory in character that it would not be affected by a change of fares, while that traffic which may be attributed to pleasure or convenience is so comparatively small that to double or treble it would increase the total business by only a fraction. Recent experience in Cleveland shows clearly the uselessness of claiming greatly increased business resulting from lowered fares. Tests made by the Cleveland Electric Railway Company in January and February, 1905, showed an actual stimulation of traffic of but 1 per cent. during the three-cent-zone test, and but 1.38 per cent. during the four-cent test. On the other hand, there was a loss in gross earnings of about \$764 per day with the three-cent fare in effect thirteen hours per day, while the decrease in earnings during the four-cent test averaged about \$1,375 per day. Applying these results to the whole system, the three-cent fare would cause the company a loss of over \$1,000,000 per year if it were in effect twenty-four hours per day. In these tests the Cleveland company endeavored to get at the facts, with no intention to prove or disprove contentions that have been made as to the actual results of lowered fares. While the tests were not entirely conclusive, they clearly showed the disastrous results of both three and four-cent fares in so far as the gross receipts were concerned.

#### LONGEST RIDES FOR FIVE CENTS IN THE WORLD.

The census figures printed in the Bulletin clearly show that, on the average, the cost of carrying a passenger an indefinite distance is less in a great city than in a small town. It must not be forgotten, however, that the average ride is probably far in excess in the case of the former of the distance traversed in the small town. The distance which one may ride for a single fare of five cents is many times greater in the former instance. Even the moderate-sized city offers a remarkably cheap transportation rate per mile. It is difficult to see the grounds that exist for complaint in the matter

of urban fares when for a single nickel one can ride ten or fifteen miles, transferring with liberal frequency at intersection points.

Mr. Durand's statement that there has been no lowering of fares in most of our great urban communities for several decades is true so far as the flat rate of five cents is concerned, but in reality there have been many instances of the equivalent of lowering fares. The transfer privilege has increased enormously in the last decade, and this, combined with the addition of many miles of new trackage, gives the public so much more for the same money than it enjoyed in the early 90's or previously that the result is much the same as though there had been a specific cutting in rates on the part of operating companies. In 1902, about 20 per cent. of the total passengers carried rode upon free transfers, as compared with a very small number in 1890. The transfer passengers form a still greater proportion of the total in some of the larger cities of the country. During the year ending September 30, 1900, the Boston Elevated Railway Company carried almost 49,000,000 passengers on free transfers, the revenue passengers being about 201,000,000. Over 19.5 per cent. of the total traffic was equaled by the transfer business. Last year the same company carried 139,000,000 transfer passengers, and the revenue passengers totaled about 241,000,000. The percentage had risen to 36.5. In St. Louis, in 1902, the transfers were over 27.5 per cent. of the total, and in Baltimore, during the same year, the percentage was about 22. All this means that five cents will buy more transportation as the transfer facilities and extensions increase, which is only another way of stating that rates have, to all intents and purposes, been lowered. In this connection it is worth mentioning that the American nickel buys the cheapest transportation in the world; that in few large American cities is the average passenger ride less than three miles, or the maximum possible less than ten; whereas, in British cities a three-mile ride almost universally costs six cents.

#### THE SHORT LIFE OF APPARATUS.

Granted that the cost of carrying a passenger in a large city is less as far as the operating expenses are concerned, it by no means follows that the five-cent fare is too high. The true investment must be considered with regard to a reasonable return in dividends; the amount of service and its quality must be accounted for; and, finally, the cost of operation, including fixed charges, must be realized. These are difficult quantities to determine, in some particu-

The depreciation problem is, perhaps, the most difficult factor in the case. Unfortunately, little data of scientific value is as yet in the possession of street-railway companies in regard to the proper allowance which should annually be made to cover that deterioration in their physical property which cannot be made good in the regular course of maintenance.

It is evident, upon a little consideration, that no matter how constantly a piece of rolling stock, for example, may be repaired and placed in first-class operating condition, there is certain to come a time when it is cast aside or sold, as unfit for further use. This may be due either to the wearing out caused by usage, or to the outgrowing of the capacity of the equipment, as Mr. Durand well expresses it. The equipment is ever threatened with new and improved forms which may supersede it before it has reached half its theoretical age. It is difficult for the writer to agree with Mr. Durand's statement that a very moderate percentage of the value of the property would represent a sufficient allowance for the depreciation due to future progress in urban transportation. For, within the past decade and long since the trolley car came to its own, the development of the roadbed, track, power stations, and rolling stock has undergone some remarkable changes. To-day, six thousand dollars is a fair estimate of the cost of a new double-truck car equipped and ready for service, against half that sum in 1897, or thereabouts. Four-motor equipments of greater power, longer and heavier cars, increases in power-station capacity, and improvements in the permanent way have in many instances superseded the lighter equipment of but a few years ago.

In some of the larger cities the building of subways and elevated roads by street railways, or their equipment with the so-called "multiple unit" cars, driven by motors far exceeding in power per ton of car weight the equipment of limited express trains on steam railways and battleships on the sea, have introduced expenses literally undreamed of in the early days of electric traction. In our greater cities, the transportation problem is so complex that no single type of equipment is adequate to handle it. Desirable as it is that equipment shall be literally worked to death in meeting the tremendous demands of rapid transit in American cities of the first rank, it is dangerous to assume that the further advance of the electrical engineer and the street-railway manager is not to be expected. All this means that the apparatus now in service is certain to be short-lived, and that the allowance made for depreciation cannot be made low with safety.

## A FAIR ALLOWANCE FOR DEPRECIATION.

In the light of present electric railway experience, it is very difficult to see how Mr. Durand's allowance of 5 per cent. simple depreciation or 3 per cent. compound interest on the investment is adequate to meet the conditions of today. Several years ago, Philip Dawson, an English electric-railway engineer of distinguished reputation, published an exhaustive book entitled "Electric Railways and Tramways," based largely upon a visit to this country covering many months, in which he personally studied the American street-railway situation in great detail. The allowances for depreciation which he published as the result of his experience were as follows, omitting several minor items:

	Per cent.
Building .....	1-2
Turbines.....	7-9
Boilers .....	8-10
Engines (slow speed).....	4-6
Generating units (direct coupled).....	4-8
Transformers.....	5-6
Batteries .....	9-11
Rotary converters.....	8-10
Bonding .....	6-10
Overhead system.....	3-8
Cars .....	4-6
Shop equipment .....	12-15
Motors.....	5-8
Track work .....	7-13

Manifestly, it is a hard problem to select a percentage from this or any other reliable table of the sort which shall be a fair allowance for the component parts' life. From 8 to 10 per cent. would seem to be the minimum which could reasonably be allowed. Three per cent. seems utterly out of the question in any event, as the money would almost certainly be used to extinguish the depreciation charges long before even simple interest began to mount up noticeably. The conditions of street-railway operation do not, as a rule, favor such retention of funds.

## THE COST OF A MODERN TROLLEY SYSTEMS.

The determination of the true investment per mile of track in a street railway system doing business in a great city is also a difficult matter. Mr. Durand concludes that the present electric surface railways of our large cities—five hundred thousand inhabitants or over—including even the small amount of elevated, cable, and underground trolley track owned by railways which operate chiefly on the surface with overhead trolley, could be completely reproduced in their present style at a cost of not more than \$60,000 per mile of track. He bases these conclusions upon his interpretation of Mr. Bion J.

Arnold's "Report on the Chicago Transportation Problem," presented to the government of that municipality in 1902. The writer cannot so interpret Mr. Arnold's figures. According to them, it seems that "the cost of a new, reorganized, and combined street-railway system, exclusive of subways, with everything first class throughout, if constructed new, would be \$69,800,000 for 745.81 miles of track,"—an average of \$93,700 per mile. This estimate is made up by Mr. Arnold as follows:

745.81 miles of single track.....	\$30,370,587.97
Overhead trolley and feeders.....	2,935,207.87
Power plant and sub-stations, including machinery for operating 2,000 cars at 50 kw. per car,—power-house, 100,000 kw.; sub-stations, 200,000 kw. (power-house, \$110 per kw.; sub-stations, \$40 per kw.).....	19,000,000.00
2,000 double-truck cars at \$6,000.....	12,000,000.00
250 snow-plows, sweepers, etc.....	1,000,000.00
Wagons, tools, and other equipment.....	169,204.16
Power-house site, centrally located.....	750,000.00
15 sub-station sites, at \$5,000.....	75,000.00
Car-shop site.....	100,000.00
20 car-house sites.....	400,000.00
Office sites, centrally located.....	300,000.00
Car shops, buildings, and machinery.....	300,000.00
20 car-houses, at \$100,000.....	2,000,000.00
Office building, furniture, and fixtures.....	400,000.00
Total.....	\$60,800,000.00
Or per mile .....	93,700.00

While these figures apply, of course, to Chicago conditions, it is difficult to see wherein it would be safe to figure much lower in estimating the investment cost of a complete modern overhead trolley system of anything like the same magnitude elsewhere. And this is because the allowances for the items in detail fall close to the line of present conditions of expenditure in the practice of street railroading. In the case of a smaller system, the cost per mile would tend to increase.

## IS THE FIVE-CENT FARE TOO HIGH?

We have briefly considered the quantity and quality of service sold on the larger street railways, the element of depreciation as a factor in fixed charges, the reasonableness of a 6 per cent. dividend, and the estimated cost of a representative system per mile of track. It remains to discuss the last paragraph of Mr. Durand's article, in which he endeavors to prove that five cents is too high a fare under the conditions of operation in cities of the first class. I venture to quote this paragraph in full, as it seems to contain the crux of Mr. Durand's analysis:

It has been estimated that \$60,000 per mile of track would cover the cost of constructing and equipping the average surface railway in cities of more than 500,000 inhabitants. A return of 5 per cent. on this investment should be adequate, in view of the fact that there is

almost no risk in the street-railway business of a great city. A further allowance of 5 per cent. yearly on the investment should be ample to cover depreciation in all its forms. Interest and depreciation would thus amount to \$6,000 per year for each mile of track. The number of fare passengers carried by surface lines in cities of the first class averages about 450,000 annually per mile, so that  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents per passenger would suffice for interest and depreciation charges. Adding to this amount the 3 cents required for operating expenses and payments to the public treasury, we have  $4\frac{1}{2}$  cents as a reasonable fare under average conditions. If, instead of 5 per cent., the allowance for depreciation be fixed at 3 per cent.,—at which rate, by compounding, a fund would be accumulated sufficient to replace the entire plant in about twenty years,—a quarter of a cent could be taken off the fare. It is practically certain, in view of the increase of traffic which would follow a lessening of the charge for transportation, that the rate of six tickets

for twenty-five cents would, in most large cities, return a fair profit on the capital actually invested. In those cities which, like New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, now demand from the street-railways considerable payments for franchise privileges in addition to ordinary taxes, the abandonment of such requirements in favor of lower fares, in accordance with the principle now generally approved, would render a straight four-cent fare reasonable. A still lower charge would be just in some individual cases, even at the present time; and it is highly probable that, in most great cities, future growth of traffic will make further reductions in fare possible from time to time.

Assuming that 450,000 passengers per mile of track represents the traffic per year, it is interesting to see what happens to the five-cent fare under the following six sets of conditions as tabulated:

Investment per mile.	—Per cent.—		Interest and de- preciation, cents per passenger.	Balance for oper- ating expenses and taxes, cents	Possible fare re- duction, operating expenses plus taxes = 3 cents.	Operating ratio (taxes, 3 cent.)
	Interest.	Dep't'n.				
1... \$93,700 .....	6	8	2.9	2.1	..	36%
2... 93,700 .....	6	6	2.5	2.5	..	44
3... 80,000 .....	6	8	2.5	2.5	..	44
4... 80,000 .....	6	6	2.1	2.9	..	52
5... 60,000 .....	6	8	1.9	3.1	.1	56
6... 60,000 .....	6	6	1.6	3.4	.4	62

Case 1 in this table shows conclusively that if we are correct in assuming \$93,700 per mile as the investment, 6 per cent. as a fair dividend, 8 per cent. as an equitable depreciation charge, and taxes as .3 cent, the operating ratio must be only 36 per cent. in order to meet all expenses with a five-cent fare. Insurance has charitably been included under taxes. Under these conditions the traffic must exceed 450,000 passengers per mile, as 36 per cent. is far below the operating ratio feasible, or even possible, on a properly conducted street-railway system. In case 2, assuming 6 per cent. depreciation, the operating ratio becomes 44 per cent.,—still below the average met in good practice. For the sake of illustration, case 3 assumes an investment of \$80,000 per mile, with 8 per cent. depreciation. Still the operating ratio remains at 44 per cent., and thus far there has not been the slightest possible margin for fare reduction, on the basis of Mr. Durand's allowance of 3 cents as the sum of operating expenses and taxes, and our revised figures as to investment, interest, and depreciation. Cutting down the depreciation to 6 per cent. in case 4, the operating ratio becomes 52 per cent., which is reasonable in some cities and inadequate in others. Finally, if we accept \$60,000 as a proper investment per mile for the sake of the resulting figures, case 5, we find that if we neglect the setting aside of any sinking funds to redeem outstanding bonds, or provide

for unusual accidents, strikes, etc., a tenth of a cent can be cut from the five-cent fare with an operating ratio of 56 per cent., enabling the wholesale buyer of transportation to purchase 20.4 rides for one dollar; while in case 6, the allowance of 6 per cent. depreciation means an operating ratio of 62 per cent. and 21.7 fares per dollar. The difficulty of applying such ratios widely is easily apparent from the single case of the Boston Elevated Railway Company, whose operating ratio closely approximates 70 per cent.

It is only necessary to investigate the peculiar conditions of operation which exist in different cities to become convinced that the haphazardism of averages is an unsafe basis of fare reduction. Lowering of fares on urban systems cannot be undertaken under present-day conditions without gross injustice to both the public and the street railways. To the street railways the pinch would come in unreasonably low returns upon the investment, while the public would be forced to endure inferior service because the companies could not afford to continue their business on the present liberal scale. The writer believes that any considerable reduction in fares from those at present in force would ultimately lead to the demand for the restoration of the old rates, on the ground that the American people,—at least, those living in the great cities,—prefer good service at five cents to poor accommodations at any lower rate.



# THE NEW MORTGAGE TAX IN NEW YORK.

BY EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN.

(McVickar Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University.)

ON June 3, 1905, a mortgage-tax law was enacted by the State of New York, to take effect on July 1, 1905. This tax has aroused widespread interest. It may best be discussed under four heads: (1) What is the mortgage tax? (2) Why was it imposed? (3) What will be its probable effects? (4) What are its relations to the problem of tax reform in New York and throughout the country?

In New York, as in most of the American States, mortgages have always been taxable as a constituent element in a man's property. Under the general property tax, individuals are assessable upon their entire property, personal as well as real. As a matter of fact, however, the attempt to assess personal property has become more and more unsuccessful, until in the larger industrial centers of the United States practically no attempt is made to assess mortgages. In some States, mortgages are now specifically exempt by law. In other States, more or less strenuous but equally unavailing attempts are made to reach mortgages. Under the "hit-and-miss" method of most of the American commonwealths, mortgages are sometimes assessed when they are brought to the specific attention of the assessor, but otherwise escape.

The new law frees mortgages from taxation under the general property tax at the local rate, which is changed from year to year and varies in the different counties in New York from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per \$1,000. In place of this an annual specific tax at the rate of  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent. is imposed upon all new mortgages after July 1, 1905, with the exception of bonds and mortgages issued by the State or local divisions, mortgages issued to the commissioners of the United States Deposit Fund (which consists of a few million dollars remaining from the distribution of the surplus revenue of 1836), mortgages of corporations or associations organized exclusively for charitable, religious, or educational purposes, and mortgages to the extent of \$3,000 executed by the members of local building, loan, and saving associations. The tax is computed from the date of recording to the following July 1 or prior due date of mortgage, and is payable at the recording office when the mortgage is offered for record; a receipt for the tax must be indorsed upon the mortgage

and recorded therewith. Thereafter the tax is payable annually at the same recording office until the mortgage is satisfied. If there is any understanding or agreement by which the mortgagor is bound to pay the tax, the mortgage is rendered void. This provision, which does not apply to corporate mortgages, is unfortunate in that it is apt to put the lender at the mercy of an unscrupulous borrower.

The point to be emphasized is this: That whereas the old tax was honored in the breach rather than in the observance, the new tax is so carefully framed, and the provisions for collection and administration are so elaborate, that there is no doubt but that the tax actually will be paid. Some doubt is expressed, however, as to whether the tax can be collected from non-resident holders of New York mortgages. The law attempts to give the debt a situs for taxation in New York. It does not do this in the same way as the Oregon law, which was upheld, nor in the same way as the Pennsylvania law, which was successfully resisted by non-resident holders of the bonds of a Pennsylvania corporation.

## A NEW SOURCE OF REVENUE FOR THE STATE.

The second question now arises,—why was the tax imposed? The answer is simple. The policy of the State of New York, for reasons to be mentioned further on, has been, for the past few years, to separate the sources of State and local taxation, or at all events to restrict the imposition of the general property tax to local property and to obtain State revenue from other sources. Under this scheme, the State revenues were secured from the inheritance tax, from corporation taxes, and from a part of the liquor-license tax. The expenditures of the State have, however, been increasing faster than the revenue from these sources, and it has become necessary to supplement the State revenue by new taxes. Thus, a year or two ago a tax was imposed upon trust companies and savings-banks, and this year upon stock-exchange transactions. Even these, however, did not suffice, and it was for this reason that a new source of revenue was sought in the mortgage tax. As mortgages were, however, sometimes assessed in the country districts, the local "up-State" divisions were

loath to abandon entirely that source of revenue, and a compromise was reached whereby the proceeds of the new mortgage tax are to be divided equally between the State and the local divisions. The country districts calculate that half the proceeds of a tax at the rate of  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent. will be greater than the proceeds of the old tax as a part of the general property tax at the threefold or fivefold higher rate; for the new tax will be collected, while the old tax was collected only in very small part.

#### HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS IN MORTGAGES.

Thirdly, what will be the probable result of the tax? That is, what will be the revenue from the tax, and who will bear the burden? So far as the revenue is concerned, nothing but vague calculation can be made. It must be remembered that the tax applies only to new mortgages, although there is a provision whereby the owners of old mortgages can take advantage of the law if they so choose. What the actually existing amount of mortgages in New York State now is, it is almost impossible to estimate with accuracy. In all probability there are between two thousand and three thousand millions of dollars of mortgages. From this amount, however, must be deducted the railway and other corporation mortgages, as well as other mortgages of long standing. The value of new mortgages that are recorded in New York varies from year to year. In 1904, mortgages to the value of about four hundred and fifty millions were recorded in Greater New York, and as it is commonly estimated that the New York City mortgages comprise considerably more than two-thirds of the entire amount in the State, this would mean somewhat over six hundred millions for the entire State. During the first five months of the year 1905, the value of mortgages recorded in New York City was considerably greater, owing to the real-estate boom in the Bronx and elsewhere. A conservative estimate of ordinary new mortgages during the next few years is therefore between six hundred and eight hundred millions of dollars for the whole State. This is, of course, exclusive of any new bond issues by important corporations owning real estate in New York. On this basis, the total yield of the tax at the rate of  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent. would be between one and one-half and two millions of dollars the first year, and between four and one-half and six millions of dollars the second year, increasing annually until the maximum is reached in from seven to ten years, when the revenue will be from ten to fifteen millions of dollars a year. The revenue which would accrue to the State would be in every

case one-half the total revenue. The first year, the revenue to the State will be less than one million dollars,—a rather insignificant sum when compared with the total State expenditure, and far less than is secured from the corporation tax, the transfer tax, or the liquor-license tax. If, however, the law stands the test of litigation and remains in force for five years, the proceeds will be so large that the mortgage tax will assume a place as the most important revenue-producing tax in the State.

#### WILL THE INTEREST RATE BE RAISED?

The other point is one of considerably greater interest. Who will bear the burden of the tax? Here there are two sharply defined opinions. The ordinary man thinks that a tax on property must be borne by the property-owner, and that therefore a tax on mortgages must be borne by the man who owns the mortgage,—that is, by the capitalist who lends the money to the owner of the real estate. The advocates of the other view, however, claim that this is a very naïve opinion. As all those who are acquainted with economic principle, and who have made a study of the incidence of taxation, well know, a special tax on mortgages, they think, is borne by the borrower, and not by the lender. If all property were taxed with mathematical equality, as is the theory of the general property tax, there could be no shifting of the tax, because there would be no other property in which the lender could invest and thus escape taxation. But there can be no such present equality in practice, and especially under existing conditions of taxation in America there is not even an approach to the equal taxation of all property-owners. There are a thousand and one ways in which a capitalist can invest his money without being taxed. The consequence is that the lenders will refuse to invest their money in mortgages unless the tax be paid by the borrower. Thus, we see these two opposite opinions,—one that the tax will be borne by the lender, the other that the tax must be borne by the borrower.

As between these two theories, the truth lies somewhere in the middle. Where the mortgage tax is newly imposed as a special and exclusive tax, there is no doubt that the second opinion is correct,—i.e., that the tax is borne by the borrower. But in the case of the new mortgage tax in New York there are some important and interesting countervailing circumstances. In the first place, while it is true that mortgages have been almost entirely exempt in New York City, they have sometimes been assessed in the country districts. There has always been the risk that the assessor would hit upon that particular

mortgage, and up-country lenders have always insisted upon being insured against this possible risk. Competent authorities have estimated this insurance premium at about  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent.,—that is, the interest rate on country mortgages has been about  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent. higher than on corresponding property elsewhere. Under the new law, this insurance premium against risk will disappear; but its place will be taken by the tax, so that, to the extent that this element is concerned, the interest rate is not likely to rise much. If it were not for the fact that this argument of insurance premium does not apply to the cities, where the great mass of mortgages are recorded, there would be no rise at all in the interest rate.

#### NO APPRECIABLE INCREASE LIKELY.

But now comes a second consideration. Every year, large fortunes are left in trust by people who die. Under the law, these trust estates can be invested only in government bonds, certain prime railway securities, and mortgages on real estate. It is notorious that the great mass of personal property that is actually reached in our large cities consists of such trust estates. As the income from government bonds is very small, and as corporate bonds in general are subject to the local property tax at the ordinary high local rate, it is probable that mortgages bearing from 4 to 6 per cent. interest will become a favorite investment with trust estates, inasmuch as even if they were to pay the new tax there would still be a substantial surplus. The increasing supply of capital loanable on mortgages in this way would in itself tend to reduce the rate of interest, or at all events to prevent the entire amount of the tax from being added to the rate of interest. If, therefore, we consider both these points,—i.e., the elimination of the insurance premium in country mortgages and the increased supply of loanable capital for city mortgages,—we reach the conclusion that under actual conditions in New York there is little likelihood of any appreciable increase in the rate of interest due to the tax. There is, indeed, no doubt that an effort will be made by the lenders to add the tax to the rate of interest.

Most of the mortgages in New York are taken out by builders of tenements and flats. It might seem that the usury law in New York, which restricts the rate of interest to 6 per cent., would prevent the borrowers from paying more than 6 per cent., and in some cases from procuring loans at all. This difficulty, however, can easily be overcome by the incorporation of building companies, for the usury laws, as another absurd result of modern development, are relaxed

in favor of corporations. If the lenders should be able to add the tax to the interest rate, the result would be to check to that extent building operations and to increase rents, which would have as a consequence a still further congestion in housing conditions. But even at the worst, an increased rate of  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent. would not make a very decided difference, and if the above analysis has any validity at all, the chances are that the fears of the real-estate interests are largely unfounded, and that there will be scarcely any increase in the rate of interest on mortgages. Of course, it is quite true that if mortgages were entirely exempt the rate of interest would then fall by the amount of the discontinued tax, so that a complete exemption of mortgages would in the long run somewhat lower rents for the tenement dwellers. So far, however, as the practical results of the new tax are concerned, it is difficult to see an additional hardship upon any existing class.

#### SOUND BASIS OF TAX REFORM.

We come finally to a consideration of the mortgage tax in relation to the whole problem of tax reform. There is no doubt that the theory of the New York reform methods is in many respects sound. The use of the general property tax for both State and local purposes is undesirable for two reasons. In the first place, where the State rate is based upon local valuations there is always a mad race in each county to keep the valuations down to the lowest figures, in order to diminish to that extent its proportion of the State tax. This has led to all manner of unseemly disputes and bickerings between the counties, and to glaring inequalities which have been only very inadequately remedied by the State Board of Equalization. By abolishing the general property tax for State purposes, all these disputes at once disappear, and each locality is then free to fix its valuation of property at any proportion of true value that it chooses. For as long as only a local tax must be raised, it makes no difference whether we have a high rate with a low valuation or a low rate with a high valuation. It is partly for this reason that the long-continued effort to procure the assessment of real estate at full value in the city of New York resulted, in 1903, in raising the valuations to 80 or 90 per cent. of the true value.

The second point is, that as long as the general property tax is used both for State and for local purposes it is impossible to secure any change in the administration of the tax. Yet it is a notorious fact that the general property tax is everywhere getting to be less and less successful in the United States, as an inevitable

result of economic changes, and that in our large industrial centers it has become a complete farce. Wherever any attempts are made by more inquisitorial methods,—as, for instance, by the listing system or the ferret system,—to enforce taxation of personal property, the only result is to increase perjury instead of increasing revenue. The crying need, therefore, of modern American conditions is to prepare the way for the abolition of the personal-property tax and its replacement by something more equitable and more suited to modern economic life.

A DEFECT OF THE NEW SYSTEM,—LACK OF ELASTICITY.

This, then, was the theory of the New York separation of State and local revenues,—the relegation of the property tax to the localities, with a prospect of gradually changing the local method, and on the other hand the dependence by the State on the so-called indirect taxes,—an unhappily chosen phrase of Governor Odell. In the working out of this scheme, however, one serious mistake was made. The older system, vicious as it was, possessed this great advantage,—it was elastic and self-regulative. If the State needed more revenue, it simply increased the rate on the general property. Under the new system, however, specific or percentage taxes were introduced in the place of the old apportioned tax,—that is, a rate of so much per cent. was imposed on inheritances and corporations, and a specific rate on excises, etc., and this rate remained the same from year to year. There was hence a fundamental lack of elasticity. In England, this elasticity is provided by the income tax, the rate of which varies from year to year. Under the old New York system, the elasticity was provided by the property tax. Under the new system, there is no elasticity, and as the State expenditures increase it becomes more and more necessary to search out new sources of State revenue. Under actual political conditions, this means that the Legislature, dominated by the rural representatives, will select taxes that fall primarily on the cities, and we may hence expect that the controversies of the past year or two in connection with the tax on trust companies, on stock sales, and on mortgages will grow in intensity and importance as new taxes are selected from year to year.

This is an unfortunate state of affairs, and will, if persisted in, lead to ultimate disaster. Every modern system of taxation must possess the element of elasticity. There is one scheme that has been suggested by the New York Tax Reform Association in New York and Ohio, and which has been put into partial operation in the State of Oregon, which would bring about this result. This is a method of apportioning the State tax and granting local option in determining the subjects of local taxation. It rests upon the idea that the necessary revenues may be derived by making each locality contribute to the State revenues in proportion to its own expenditures. The scheme possesses four advantages. First, it would provide elasticity, as did the old system; second, it would tend to keep down State expenditures, because each locality would be interested in the control of State finance,—an interest which is now fast being lost; third, it would tend to keep down local expenditures; and, fourth, it would enable each locality to raise its revenues in any way that seemed best to it, and would put a stop to the conflicts between country and city. If the rural districts desired to maintain the personal-property tax, they could do so; if the large cities desired to substitute something else, they would be equally free to follow their bent.

The general conclusion, therefore, is that while the new mortgage tax is by no means so harmful a piece of legislation as is represented by some, and while it is probably destined to become the most important source of revenue in the State, from the broad point of view it nevertheless represents a tendency which has in some respects gone to undue lengths. It is to be hoped that the controversies aroused by the mortgage and stock-sales tax in New York may lead the legislators to reconsider their opinion. The chief sources of present State revenue—the corporation tax, the inheritance tax, and liquor license—have probably come to stay. Would it not be the part of wisdom to rely for the additional revenues of the future upon a method which is at once more elastic and more promising of ultimate reform? The situation in New York is all the more interesting because it is typical of the conditions which will soon confront the other States of the Union, as they evolve from agricultural to industrial communities.





# SOME FRENCH BOOKS THAT AMERICAN WOMEN OUGHT TO READ.

BY STEPHANE JOUSSELIN.

(Member of the Paris Municipal Council and of the General Council of the Seine.)

BY far the most agreeable of all the recollections of my recent tour in the United States is the excellent education and the admirable intelligence of the American woman. I was particularly well pleased with her knowledge of and her interest in the literature of France. I know of no other part of the world, with the possible exception of Russia, where the women so generally speak the French language, and where the study of our literature is so closely followed as it is in America. I must say here that I consider the education of the American woman infinitely superior to that given in France. This is especially noticeable in the case of young girls, who, more often than not, are extremely well-read.

Owing to the fact that the American man spends most of his time in business, traveling to his office early in the morning and not returning until late at night, and having, in addition, the attraction of his clubs, the American woman is left a great deal to her own devices. She has a large amount of time to dispose of as she wills. This time she occupies largely in reading and in keeping *au courant* with the events of the day. This fact is largely the cause of the prodigious success of American magazines and reviews, a success which is certainly well deserved. It is the American woman who buys and reads the periodical literature in the United States, and determines its tone.

## THE INTEREST IN FRENCH LITERATURE.

The American woman is deeply interested in French literature. The number of women in the United States who speak French fluently is considerable, and I shall never forget the delightful hours spent in many charming American homes in the large cities of the country, discussing art and literature. There is one fact, however, which I cannot explain,—that is, the extraordinary selection of French books which, as a rule, I find lying around in American libraries.

Many times, in positive amazement, I have asked my amiable hostess how she came to possess those copies of some of the most disgusting novels published during the year, the titles of which I do not care to mention for fear of advertising them further. The reply was always

to the effect that the volume had been purchased at a well-known bookseller's as one of the latest Parisian novelties, the lady adding that her nature had more than revolted at its broad, unhealthy tone. This acknowledgment was always followed by the request "Do tell us what French books we ought to read and what ones we can give to our daughters."

It is a difficult and somewhat embarrassing task to answer such a question, for there is no more delicate undertaking than that of counselor in such matters. I, therefore, usually tried to escape responsibility by suggesting a few of the classic novels which every one in France knows by heart. Alas! I was generally met with the statement: "Oh, we read that long ago. The book has been translated into English, and, besides, we read it in the original text. What we really want is a list of new books, moral ones; for, surely, all the actual literary productions of France cannot be like this example."

## THE EROTIC TENDENCY IN FRENCH.

Of course, all our French writers to-day are not indecent; but I must acknowledge that most of our modern writers, unlike those of England and America, have almost entirely abandoned the sentimental novel, to devote themselves to illegitimate love in all its phases. I might add, that a large number, also, make a far too realistic and too attractive picture of vice; that the "*naturaliste*" school has been a little too prominent of late years, and, finally, that certain French writers have manifested an unhealthy talent for depicting and exaggerating the hidden side of Parisian life. But, happily for our moral and for our literary excellence, these writers are in the small minority. We have a brilliant circle of authors who hold it their duty to defend our literary prestige, and who are proving worthy of their task.

Why is it that the very books a French woman would not admit to her home must be the ones that find their way across the ocean into the homes of American women, who, half the time, do not understand them, but upon whom they leave a most deplorable impression of our French literature? I have searched in vain for an explanation. Here is the only possible one: as a

rule, the publishers bring out a larger edition of their immoral novels, and evidently they prefer such to form the greater part of what they call "*littérature d'exportation*."

#### AUTHORS OF GOOD FRENCH NOVELS.

But to answer the questions of my American friends who are anxious to read good French novels. Need I recall, even briefly, the names already so well known in America—Paul Bourget, Anatole France, Pierre Loti, René Bazin, Paul Hervieu, Marcel Prévost, and others? These are the worthy successors of Maupassant, Goncourt, Zola, and Daudet, although I certainly would not say that their works ought to be left in the hands of the young and unsophisticated. A judicious selection can easily be made. For example, it is certain that some of Zola's books, such as "*Le Réve*," "*La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret*," "*Une Page d'Amour*," give us a delightful impression of the charm and poetry of the author's genius, whereas "*Nana*," "*La Bête Humaine*," "*L'Assommoir*," and others, notwithstanding the real talent they display, can only sicken a delicate mind by their too-evident search for degrading realism. Is there any more charming book than "*Lettres de Mon Moulin*," by Alphonse Daudet? I looked for them in vain in America. No one knew them. This is a great pity, for they are each one a veritable jewel in its way, and far superior to "*Sapho*," the presentation of which on the stage recently caused such a tempest of indignation in New York.

While speaking of Alphonse Daudet, I must not forget to mention his son, Léon Daudet, who has so richly inherited from the paternal genius. Although still young, he is a member of the Goncourt Academy, and his triumphs are innumerable. It would almost seem as if the name of Daudet brought with it literary gifts. The brother of Alphonse, Ernest, is a remarkable historian and a charming novelist; while Madame Daudet, the widow of Alphonse, has published a book of "*Souvenirs*," the inspiration of which proves an undeniable literary temperament. Everything, indeed, written by a Daudet is worth knowing.

George Sand is, to my mind, not so well known in America as her great genius merits. Even in this great Paris, where every one and everything is so quickly forgotten, her books are still extremely popular. "*La Petite Fadette*," "*Claudie*," "*François le Champi*," "*Consuelo*," and "*La Mare au Diable*" are masterpieces which should be in every library, and which old and young alike can read.

But, my questioners will say, none of these are exactly novelties. Very true. But what is really beautiful remains eternally beautiful, and, in order to speak of modern authors, we must turn our attention to those, unfortunately, very much inferior to George Sand. While I still speak of past works, however, let me not forget one whose success has not diminished by lapse of time. I refer to "*Le Crime de Sylvester Bonnard*," by Anatole France, a delicious story full of tenderness, charm, and emotion.

I want to mention André Theuriot, a true romancer, whose novels are full of poetry and sentiment, and can be left unhesitatingly in any hands. Gustave Drog has amused us, and can amuse any who will give themselves the trouble to read his "*Monsieur, Madame, et Bébé*" or "*Mme. Femme Génante*," but he is especially captivating in a delicious volume entitled "*Tristesses et Sourires*." This last is not a novel, but a series of observations so cleverly and daintily penned that it can be reread many times.

Victor Cherbuliez and Léon de Tinseau can be recommended without hesitation, as can also Edouard Rod, who becomes more and more eminent as a psychological analyst. And Huysmanns, what an admirable writer he has become within the past few years! His "*Cathédrale*" is a treasure of learning and beauty.

#### FRENCH WOMAN WRITERS.

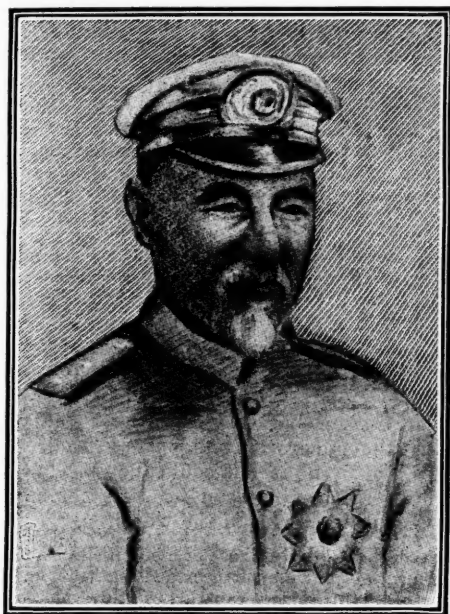
I must not forget to remind American women that our women of France have not remained outside the literary movement. Among the French writers of the gentler sex, I would first mention Jean de la Brété, whose book entitled "*Mon Oncle et Mon Cure*" is a dainty masterpiece which has been crowned by the French Academy. But especially would I speak to Americans of Madame Bentzon, who has written two books of notes and observations, "*Femmes d'Amérique*" and "*Les Américaines chez Elles*." I have heard a number of American women say that these volumes show on the part of the author, not only a clear insight into the feminine nature, but also a particular discernment into the special complexities of American feminine nature.

Before concluding, let me say once more how deeply I admire America's young women who, in the never-ceasing desire to improve their minds, cultivate their literary tastes and capacities to such a high degree. What an example for our young French women, whom I would like to see take more interest in the literatures of England and America and appreciate both as they deserve. French women need just such a stimulus.

## LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

### WHAT TOGO'S VICTORY MEANS TO US.

**A**NALYZING the victory of Admiral Togo in the battle of the Sea of Japan, Mr. Park Benjamin (writing in the *Independent*) finds a number of lessons for us of the United States in



ADMIRAL TOGO.

(From a sketch made by a French artist before the battle of the Sea of Japan.)

the actual battle and the conditions which made it possible. In the first place, he refers to Japan's well-known rule that her ships shall fight as near as possible to her own coast. Pointing out the advantage to the Japanese ships to be near their home ports, and the disadvantage to the Russians to have to sail around the world, Mr. Benjamin applies the lesson to the American navy in these words:

One of the strongest parts of our navy is the Atlantic Ocean; another is the Pacific. Hostile fleets, to attack us, must cross them. Clearly, it is better to do our sea fighting at home—as Togo did. That also makes for a smaller navy, since two fleets, one to go off on excursions and the other to defend the coast, will not be needed.

He analyzes the Russian losses, and revises the estimate of Japan's position among naval nations. Russia failed, he points out, because she regarded a great navy as being made up of many ships, forgetting that it must also be made up of good sailors. The replacing of ships alone can never insure an efficient navy, he says.

A battleship can be built in forty months, but it takes seventy-two months to render a man, otherwise qualified, fit for the lowest naval rank, and nearly twenty years to educate a competent naval commander. These are the periods required, observe, when the raw material comes from a stock bred to the sea, and when training is conducted under the traditions and discipline of the natural sailor races. To these the Russians do not belong, nor have they ever followed the Anglo-Saxons in sea discipline and traditions. . . . It is a new navy of men that Russia will have to raise up; not merely a navy of ships.

Continuing the analysis, and dilating upon the importance of the part played by torpedo boats and submarines in the action, he says:

Again has been proved the vulnerability of the huge battleship. Again it has been proved that the most complicated aggregation of mechanism that the human mind has ever produced can certainly be sent to the bottom by a few score pounds of explosive detonated against her under-water hull. Another fact to be noted is that the heavy superstructures of the battleships did not prevent wholesale slaughter of their crews and prompt destruction of ammunition hoists and other vital mechanisms. The men who escaped from the *Borodino* liken her decks to shambles, and yet here was a vessel in which the crew were mainly disposed in no less than eight separate armored turrets. Conceive the frightful slaughter which would occur in such vessels as our *Kearsarge* or *Kentucky*, where most of the crew is massed in a single huge, weakly protected compartment. . . . And, finally, this great action was won, not by a huge fleet of battleships, but by four, supplemented by eight armored cruisers. No stronger evidence could be adduced in favor of the contention that what we need is not a vast battleship force capable of overwhelming that of any foreign nation by mere numbers, but an adequate fleet, far smaller, but of the highest possible efficiency in both material and men.

He compliments the Japanese upon their preparedness for war and the astuteness of their strategy. The personnel of the Japanese navy, he declares, has much to do with the dash and vigor of the Japanese attack. Togo's victory was won by his men, he reminds us.

The average age of the Japanese commanding officers is between forty and forty-four years. All the Japanese rear-admirals are less than fifty years of age. Togo himself is forty-eight. [This is an error. Admiral Togo was born in 1851. He is therefore in his fifty-fifth year.—EDITOR.] The men who handled the smaller vessels and torpedo boats are much younger. Our navy is officered by old men,—too old to be of any use in war. Our youngest rear-admiral is older than Togo. The average age of our captains is thirteen years beyond that of the Japanese captains. Our youngest captain, if in the Japanese navy, would long since have been superannuated. All of our captains are fifty-five years and over. We are not properly educating the younger men, because we are giving to these old men the experience in command. The first thing that we should do in the event of war would be to relieve them and put the young men in their places. In the great fleet which we have already collected a battleship is commanded by a captain over sixty-one years of age, who has less than a year to serve before he is retired by law. His past service record has been excellent, but what is the use of further educating him? While in most professions a man at sixty-one is far from being worn out, this is not true of the naval career, and less true than ever now, when the strain upon physical endurance is greater than ever.

The remedy for this lack in our navy which Mr. Benjamin suggests is a rather drastic one,

that is to remove at once from the active list of the navy every officer of command rank who is over fifty years of age and promote their juniors to their places. Even then the admirals and captains will have had more than a quarter of a century's service. There is no lesson of the recent great battle which is plainer than this. If the next war must find us with incompetent men in the navy, it is better that they should be filling vacancies in the lower grades than among the commanders, who directly hold in their keeping the honor and safety of the nation.

His last point is the emphasis laid by the Japanese upon secrecy as to their naval plans. Their success in preventing any knowledge of the whereabouts of Togo's fleet getting abroad has been wonderful and a great tribute to the patriotism of the whole nation.

There was probably no information more eagerly sought for by the press of the entire world; and it is certain that to any one able to give it a price would have been paid which might well seem a fortune in itself. Yet out of the thousands of Japanese who could have said where that fleet was, out of the unknown number who must have been tempted with the magnitude of the possible reward, *not one told*. Japan can well be proud of her victory, but she can be even prouder of the unswerving fidelity of her people.

## COUNT OKUMA ON THE CAUSES OF JAPAN'S GREATNESS.

THREE reasons are given by Count Okuma, in an article in a recent number of the *Jiji Shimpō*, of Tokio, for the achievements of Japan in her path of progress, and particularly in her present war with Russia. Count Okuma, of course, always uses the term "Nippon," which is the name the Japanese themselves have for their country. In the first place, he says, Nippon is the country of the gods; secondly, she has had a particularly favorable geographical position and peculiarly advantageous characteristics in her people; in the third place, she has reaped great advantages from the centuries she spent under the feudal *régime*.

Ever since the gods established the eight states [the original provinces of the island empire] and sent down into them a race of men,—that is, for three thousand years,—Nippon has never forgotten that she is the land of the gods. This dominant conviction, holding sway, as it does, over the imagination of the people of Nippon, together with that other conviction that the reign of the Emperor is as eternal as heaven and earth, have brought forth a nation and a national consciousness the like of which cannot be found in the rest of the world. "The history of Nippon is innocent of a man guilty of treason." It is true that history accuses a number of Sho-

guns of treason, but they were only guilty of abusing the generous confidence of their sovereigns, and by no means could they be charged with the crime of treason as it is commonly understood by the rest of the world.

Indeed, in the criminal code of modern Nippon there is no form of punishment provided for treason. Of what other civilized state can this be said? Moreover, the person of his majesty and the functions of his government have a sacredness about them such as in other civilized states is ascribed to the holy rites of religion; and the people of Nippon look upon their duty to their sovereign prince and state as something quite as sacred as those to any of the gods of heaven. Our religious attitude was voiced many years ago by Sugawara Michizane in the couplet: "If only your heart be true, even though you pray not the gods will hear."

Geography has been partial to Nippon. "The waters which have separated us from the continent have also protected us from the avarice and struggles of continental states during the Dark Ages."

Because the early ambitions of conquerors found it difficult to invade us in their primitive vessels, we have been saved from many a vortex in political struggle and storm, in which so many of the states of ancient China found their grave.

Equatorial currents, tides, and even monsoons, have contributed to the making of the present



Nippon. Out of the fusion of divers races and the ages of planning and evolution has come the present state.

Through the intermingling of many alien stocks of men, the people of Nippon have been able to take bravery from the make-up of the Tatar of the north, and to extract from the Malay of the south characteristics which have helped us in colonizing and absorbing the literature and fine arts of China. . . . Eclecticism in religion, and the broad-mindedness with which the modern Nippon is welcoming at one and the same time the truths that are in Buddhism, in Confucianism, and in Christianity, is one of the fruits of our ethical and philosophical horizon, which has been widened by the mingling of many peoples. Above all have we been blessed with the most precious gift of the gods, simplicity,—simplicity in taste, in thought, and in life.

One of the prominent characteristics of the people of Nippon is that which emphasizes

loyalty, courage, politeness, and the sense of honor. It is called *bushido*, the way of the Samurai. It is a mistake, however, to speak of this *bushido* as though it were confined exclusively to the Samurai. The ideals soon penetrated to the consciousness of the whole people.

Through many centuries of Nippon feudalism, the fostering of this spirit of loyalty, courage, courtesy, and love of righteousness has gone on, until they have become, not only the peculiar characteristics of the Samurai class, but of all the people of the country at large. With the decline of the Samurai we saw come into flower a number of men famed for their disinterestedness, their unquestioned courage, and their sense of honor. These men sprang from every class of society, and so it is to our feudal days, so unlike those of Continental Europe in many cardinal respects, that we owe in large measure the flowering of the Nippon of to-day.

## THE CHIEF OF POLICE OF EUROPE.

APROPOS of the Morocco situation, the new Norwegian magazine, *Vor Tid*, of Minneapolis, the first in the language in this country, has an editorial under the above title. It says:

His name is Wilhelm, and he is German Emperor. Most of the European states generally have more or less of a quarrel on their hands, sometimes among themselves, sometimes with people in other parts of the world. Wilhelm sits in the midst of Europe and keeps watch. If any of the powers get into a fight and others want to "mix in," Wilhelm lifts his police club and says, "Keep away!"

Summarizing the "burning" political questions now agitating Europe, the *Vor Tid* continues:

Europe has time and again been greatly disturbed over the Turkish question. The Turkish question is really only a question of Constantinople. Constantinople is the gate to the Orient, to Asia. Russia would give Siberia if she could get Constantinople. If she could get Constantinople, she would take Asia. And for that reason England can never let Russia take Constantinople. It would be her death-blow. The Suez Canal and India would soon be lost. And so both England and Russia have been flirting with or threatening the Turkish Sultan, according to circumstances. But Wilhelm the Emperor has made his appearance on the scene and taken a hand, and at present he is the Sultan's "best friend" and has greater influence in Constantinople than either Russia or England.

When England was at war with the Boers in Africa, "the whole German people sympathized with the Boers, and the feeling toward England was very bitter. It was the same in Russia. But Wilhelm lifted his police club: Hands off! and the poor Boers got no help." When the war between Russia and Japan became inevitable,

Russia had cause to fear for her western border. There was the turbulent Poland, the restless Finland; they might use their opportunity to seek help from some of the powers and involve Russia in complications in Europe, but "Mr.



KAISER WILHELM: "There is always trouble when I travel."  
From the *Evening World* (New York).

Wilhelm promises to keep good watch at the border line, and so Russia feels safe there."

France feels quite an inclination for North Africa, and would have no objection to add Morocco to her possessions there, and had diplomatically arrived at an understanding with England, who would likely get com-

pensation somewhere else, for England is accustomed to be paid, not only when she does something, but also when she does nothing. France had also, by her obliging conduct toward the United States in the Perdicaris affair, gained the good-will of this country, and professed to regard this good-will almost as a recognition by this country of her supremacy in Morocco. But just as France smilingly and quietly is spreading her wings over Morocco to take possession Mr. Wilhelm embarks for the Mediterranean and pays a visit to Morocco. He remained only a couple of days, but it was enough. He declares, in an address right there on the spot, that there can be no such thing as French supremacy in Morocco, and that France shall have no privileges

there which Germany does not enjoy as well, and this virtually guarantees the integrity and independence of Morocco. This came almost like lightning from a clear sky. France is, of course, terribly chagrined, but does not dare to complain too loudly, and England pretends to be a little offended, but does not take it all very seriously.

Mr. Wilhelm, concludes *Vor Tid*, has also "tried his police authority on this side of the Atlantic; but it is a little different over here, for here is another chief of police, and on this side of the ocean Wilhelm will not dare to measure clubs."

### ALFONSO XIII. OF SPAIN AND HIS INHERITANCE.

THE tour through France and England of the youngest king in Europe has been the subject of much sympathetic comment in the press of the entire world. There is a good deal



KING ALFONSO XIII. OF SPAIN.

(From a photograph taken during his recent visit to Paris.)

of the halo of romance about Alfonso XIII.—the fatherless child born a king, his frail life holding together the loyalty of a disturbed and distracted country, and the burden of government resting upon a woman. No child could have been more longed for, and it was pathetic, in-

deed, that his young father did not live to see his son. Alfonso XII. and Maria Christina of Austria had two daughters, but the King died at the early age of twenty-eight, some six months before his boy was born on May 17, 1886. Fortunately, the widowed queen was a woman of strong character, and she guarded the kingdom for her son with rare tact and discretion during the long years of minority. She was determined to call him Alfonso after his father, and though the superstitious Spaniards objected to the number XIII., the queen had her way, and, further, defied superstition by asking Pope Leo XIII. to be his godfather. The first letter the young king ever wrote was to the Pope to thank his godfather for a present on his first communion. The little fellow wrote seven copies before he made one tidy enough to send. Speaking of the young king's boyhood, the *London Graphic* says:

Little Alfonso grew up amid the greatest affection. The queen never left him, his sisters were his slaves, and wherever he appeared in public, the people went into ecstasies. He was scarcely more than a baby when he first took part in state ceremonies, but his dignity exceeded his years, and almost as soon as he could toddle the juvenile sovereign was most particular about being saluted according to his rank. At first he was a very delicate child, so he was kept in the open air, had more play than lessons, and spent much time by the sea at San Sebastian. There he played soldiers with such enjoyment that a boy regiment was formed of mites of his own age, duly uniformed and drilled, whom he reviewed with much ceremony. In fact, the young king has always had strong military tastes, and is exceptionally well trained in army tactics. As he grew into boyhood his lessons were rather heavy for so young a child, but he worked well under an English governess, and at ten years had a military governor and a regular household of his own. Very wisely, however, the queen insisted on a large share of outdoor pursuits in his education, so the young king learned to ride, row, and fence with much enjoyment. From the time he could first sit a small pony, young Alfonso has been devoted to riding, and a new horse to match his growth was his mother's

favorite present. The King is a steady, intelligent worker, with much aptitude for languages,—he speaks English, French, German, and Italian, besides being a fair Greek and Latin scholar,—and he has been most carefully trained in statesmanship. Like his mother, he is a good musician. According to Spanish custom, the King came of age when sixteen, three years ago, and then solemnly assumed the government.

#### Alfonso's Strong Character.

In a character sketch of King Alfonso (in the *Fortnightly Review*), Mr. L. Higgin tells this story :

While still a child in the nursery, his governess rebuked him for putting his knife in his mouth. "Gentlemen never eat like that," she said.

"But I am a king," remarked the child.

"Kings still less put knives in their mouths," said the governess.

"This king does !" was the reply.

He is still a youth of decision and unconventionality.

He is extremely fond of motoring, and is said to be an accomplished chauffeur. When remonstrated with on not keeping up the traditional state of a Spanish king, he replied : "I mean to be a modern king, and go everywhere and do everything that other kings do." He also expressed to some of his advisers who had spoken of the advisability of his making an early marriage his determination on this subject. "Of one thing you may be quite certain, I am not going to marry a photograph ! I must see my future wife and choose her myself."

As a result of his severe but wise training, continues Mr. Higgin, the young monarch is perhaps singularly well informed on general subjects, and not only in the history and literature of his own country, but in that of other countries. He speaks equally well German, English, and French, and has shown himself a graceful and good impromptu speaker in his own language.

Military exercises have always had the strongest attraction for the young king. When still a child, his delight was to play at soldiers with the children of the Guard, and this led later on to the "Boys' Regiment," as it was called, composed of lads of about his own age, children, for the most part, of the aristocracy, who were drilled and taught military evolutions along with him, and whom he eventually commanded, under the superintendence of his instructors. About three months of each year were spent by the royal family at Santander, and here, the close routine of study being relaxed, the King passed his time very much on the water, learning the management of ships, and becoming, not only a good sailor, but well acquainted with navigation and naval gunnery.

Alfonso, although only a boy, got rid of his unpopular tory minister, Señor Maura, by an exercise of the royal prerogative to which Edward VII. may some day resort if Mr. Balfour continues much longer to set at defiance the wishes of the majority of the nation.

The King objected to the nomination of a certain general as chief of the staff, and expressed his desire

that General Polavieja should be appointed, a man who is an excellent soldier and well known for honesty and straightforwardness, since, it is said, "he remains a poor man though he has occupied high posts." Maura insisted on the ministerial candidate, and the King, at a meeting of the council, simply refused to sign the decree. There was nothing for it but resignation on the part of the ministry.

The King is very sympathetic, very fond of travel, full of interest in all things, and a great admirer of England.

In the troubles and sorrows of his people Alfonso XIII., like his father, takes a warm interest. In the recent disastrous accident to the new reservoir of the water-supply at Madrid, he was on the scene as soon as he heard of it, and his remark to those who greeted him on his arrival was characteristic. A number of the people who had already reached the ground rushed to meet his carriage, giving loud cries of "Viva al Rey ;" "Nada, nada de vivas," he said—"no vivas ; to work, to succor the victims." Stores of all that could be useful to the wounded were instantly sent from the Palace, and the King, later, visited in the hospitals the wounded who had been rescued alive from the ruins.

#### Has the Qualities of Greatness.

A sympathetic sketch of King Alfonso, "who is now surprising Europe by his maturity of thought and high ideals," appears in the *Revue Bleue*, contributed by G. Desdevises de Dezert. This writer points out how Spain had fallen from her high estate after the death of Alfonso XII., and how the disasters continued under the regency of Queen Maria Christina, mother of the present king. The young monarch has shown that he possesses more than one quality of greatness. He is, moreover, the first military king that Spain has had since Philip V.

#### The Young King's Prospects and Relations with France.

The same well-known political and economic writer contributes to another number of the *Revue Bleue* an analysis of Spain's foreign policy for the past hundred years, with particular reference to the relations of the kingdom to France and Great Britain. He points out, as a strange political fact, the cordiality of the relations between Spain and England as compared with the usually strained relations between Spain and her neighbor republic. Just why Spaniards and Englishmen should be friends, and Spaniards and Frenchmen all but enemies, this French writer regards as unfortunate, but to a certain extent the outcome of geographical situations and history. "It was England," he points out, "which broke the naval power of Spain at Trafalgar ; it was England which incited and aided the breaking away from Spanish rule of the entire new world ; England opposed the admission

of Spain as a great power to the Congress of Vienna, in 1815; England pretended to fight Spain's battles in her war for independence, but really it was in the interest of England. Even in 1898, when France tried to help poor Spain, it was England which applauded every American victory as though it had been a British triumph." Despite all these undoubted facts, says this writer, Spain has always shown the greatest of good feeling toward England, and has always looked with suspicion upon France. The Spaniards have treated England with special consideration, and one of their best-known adages is, "*Con todos guerra, y paz con Inglaterra*"—"War everywhere, but peace with England." This writer finds something sympathetic between the *sang-froid* of the English and the *hauteur* of the Castilians. He says that Spain misunderstands both England and France, to the advantage of the former and the disadvantage of the latter. She knows England for a Protestant country, but believes her to be exclusively Protestant,

while she knows France for the country of the impious Voltaire, of Rousseau, of Renan, and the classic land of free thought. "The Englishman is always trying to make himself out better than he is, while the Frenchman would have you think he is the very devil,—and he is much better than he makes himself out to be." Moreover, England is to Spain the "type of the conservative nation, respecting her rulers, her laws, and her customs; while France has revolutions without number, and a complete change of government every few years." This writer goes on to point out how France has been of real help to Spain, and how the younger generation of Spaniards is beginning to realize this. France is the isthmus which connects Spain with the rest of Europe. France has conferred many benefits upon her neighbor. France, he hopes, will contribute still further to the development and advancement of Spain, under the reign of the progressive young king who now governs south of the Pyrenees.

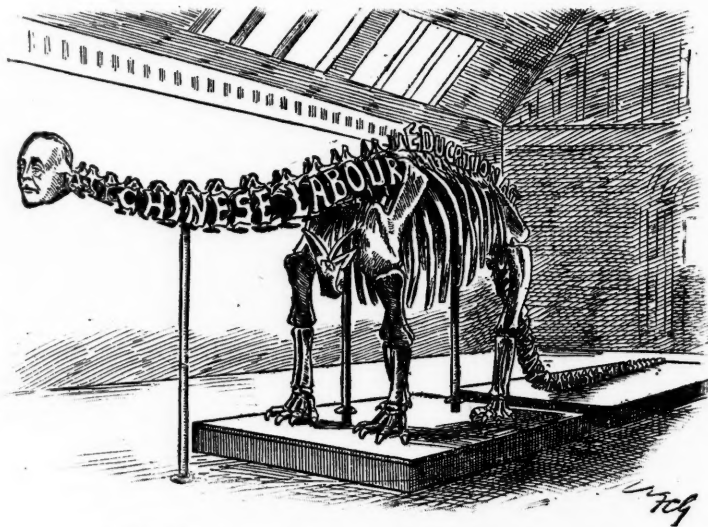
### MR. BALFOUR AS FABIUS MAXIMUS.

AN article which is characterized by Mr. Stead, in the *London Review of Reviews*, as "one of the most ingenious of the year" is the essay entitled "A Political Fabius Maximus," which Mr. Wilfrid Ward has contributed to the *June Nineteenth Century*. Says Mr. Stead: "An abler and more gallant attempt to glorify an English ruler for the very things which have discredited him most has not been published since Mr. Froude found the crowning proof of the disinterested patriotism of Henry VIII. in the invincible patience with which he persisted in his matrimonial experiences."

Taking as his text the declaration made by the *Spectator*, October 3, 1903, after the Sheffield speech, that "Whatever else may happen, Mr. Balfour's day as a great British statesman is over," Mr. Ward says:

The events which the *Spectator* regarded as the occasion of the downfall of a great statesman have proved to be his op-

portunity. His policy will live for posterity as a classical instance of a statesman who kept his head when hardly any one else succeeded in doing so, who believed in himself in spite of the ridicule and invective of assailants from both sides, and who gradually restored confidence and won back the faith of his party.



ELONGATED AND FOSSILIZED: THE STICKTOLOCUS BALFOURII.

It is a matter of question whether the collar-bone which is represented between the two shoulders really belongs to this creature or whether it is a portion of some other organism.—From the *Westminster Gazette* (London).



## THE HIGHER CRITICS AND FISCAL REFORMERS.

The soul of Mr. Ward's paper is to be found in the brilliant conception of the fiscal reformers as the "higher critics" of political economy. Mr. Balfour's position is that of the head of the Church who, when confronted by the speculative theories of the Wellhausen school, refuses either to indorse all the vagaries of the enthusiastic scholars or to ban them with bell, book, and candle. The time is not ripe for a definite pronouncement.

The wise ruler will not silence the Liberals. He knows that it is they who have hold of the materials out of which the true developments in theology are to be effected. He will have none of the dogmatism of the obscurantists. To treat speculation as heresy is as bad as to treat it as newly won dogma. Change can only be safely made by very gradual steps, the wisdom of which is completely ascertained. It is only thus that its dislocating effect can be avoided. Yet the nature of these very steps can be satisfactorily ascertained only by the freest discussion. Provisionally, the dogmas of free trade must be largely disregarded in the discussion, as theological dogma is disregarded by the biblical critic. That such dogma exists and is sound, he does not doubt. A return to pre-Cobdenite protection would, indeed, be to attack an irremediable decision in economic orthodoxy. But to condemn measures as protectionist, in the sense in which protection is disastrous, before their nature and consequences have been fully sifted is obscurantism and not orthodoxy.

## "THE NOBLEST ROMAN OF THEM ALL."

Mr. Ward rapidly draws a vivid picture of the confusion and dismay which Mr. Chamberlain as the fiscal Wellhausen caused among the true believers in the orthodox fold. Of Mr. Chamberlain's impatient plungefulness Mr. Ward speaks with chastened severity. Mr. Chamberlain, he says,

aroused party feeling, and gave the signal for strife, not only before his colleagues had agreed that the war was wise or practical, but before he himself had seen how it could be carried on. In this trying position Mr. Balfour showed virtues truly Roman. He did not despair of the Republic. And he saw that the only hope lay in a Fabian policy of delay. Tantalizing and irritating though it inevitably was, ineffective necessarily before the public eye, he persevered in it. The world held it impossible that the cabinet could survive the removal of its strongest members. The loss of prestige attaching to great names was appalling. Nevertheless, Mr. Balfour faced the situation as the alternative to the death of the party, and carried his policy through. Probably no other man living except Mr. Balfour could have effected even the partial reconstitution of the party.

## HOW HE WORKED THE MIRACLE.

This great Fabian thaumaturgist worked the apparently incredible miracle by his unique

combination of qualities, which Mr. Ward analyzes with skill and sympathy.

His aloofness and imperturbability, in the first place, enable him to carry out the decisions of an acute and highly critical intellect, undistracted by any disturbing force, either from the undue influence of others or from unregulated impulses in himself.

His power of attracting personal devotion is like Pitt's, and has been an important factor in his success.

He is marked by great tenacity in friendships, alliances, undertakings. He knows well the value of small things, as answering letters or a kind word, and measures out such gifts with care and judgment.

The complications caused by unnecessary initiative Mr. Balfour instinctively avoids, aided, perhaps, by a certain constitutional indolence.

His perception of public opinion is as accurate as is possible concomitantly with a certain deficiency in emotional sympathy.

Drive him into a corner, and with his back to the wall he will fight with a vigor and pertinacity astonishing to those who are accustomed to his normal imperturbability.

The net result is great insight, tenacity, and persistence, and the strength arising from these qualities. The main aim is never lost sight of. He acts on the motto, "More haste, less speed."

A touch of pessimism runs through his thought and work, yet not the profound pessimism which leads to inaction. Rather his pessimism goes with a certain philosophic contentment,—for he looks, in this imperfect world, for no great results, and is therefore not easily disappointed.

"All that," says Mr. Stead, "is true enough and very well said. But what of Mr. Ward's essay as a whole? Never was there a more subtle, sophisticated, attempt made to prove that our King Arthur actually underwent an apotheosis when he forsook his Table Round in order to sit himself as an 'accomplished whist-player' at the card-table with Mr. Chamberlain. But irresistible are the attractions of paradox, and the formula 'I believe because it is impossible' has naturally great attractions for controversialists of Mr. Wilfrid Ward's school."

## "Most Laughed at and Most Loved."

Mr. Balfour is addressed in the *Atlantic Monthly* in an open letter by "Alciphron." The writer says that Plato, who dreamed of a day when philosophers were kings, would surely have hailed a philosopher as prime minister. Mr. Balfour is credited with a Platonic fondness for verbal dialectic, and an extraordinary adroitness and resource in its use, which reminds the writer of what Jowett said when asked whether logic was a science or an art—"It is neither; it is a dodge." The writer proceeds:

This astuteness, this immensely clever handling of an immensely difficult situation, your bitterest enemy cannot deny you. If you have carried water on both shoulders, you have at least carried it, not spilled it on

the ground. Your assailants should have taken warning from your profuse confessions of ignorance and your smiling good-nature. They had heard you profess so often in the House of Commons, "I am but a child in these matters," and should have had in mind, as possibly you had, the prophecy, "A little child shall lead them."

You offer to-day, Mr. Balfour, the great paradox of being the public man of England most laughed at, and at the same time most loved. . . . So there has broken through your philosophy a great kindness, with a high distinction, a wide humanity, a lettered sanity and ease, which have endeared you to the men of your day in both parties. If fall you must, you will leave office behind, but will always bear your friends with you.

#### An Unconstitutional Premier

"Mr. Balfour and the Constitution" is the title of a suggestive study by Mr. J. A. Spender in the *Independent Review*. Mr. Spender admits that the premier's retention of office in spite of indications that he no longer retains public con-

fidence is legal, but denies that it is constitutional. By deft citations he maintains:

The true doctrine is, as stated by Mr. Bagehot, Professor Dicey, and Sir William Anson, that a ministry should retire or dissolve Parliament "when it is shown to have lost the confidence of the House or the country,"—one or other, or both of these things. Mr. Balfour's claim is, on the contrary, that the House of Commons itself should be the sole judge.

Mr. Spender protests against this inversion of the constitutional doctrine, but frankly admits that the remedies are not easy to apply. He says:

The suggestion that the King should revive the prerogative of dissolving Parliament of his own initiative is not one that a Liberal can entertain. The principle that the King acts on the advice of his ministers needs to be guarded against all encroachment. My own opinion is that the Septennial Act should be repealed, and the legal duration of Parliament reduced to five, or even four, years.

## HAS ENGLAND FAILED IN EGYPT?

A DETAILED analysis of the balance sheet of the English occupation of Egypt is contributed to *La Revue* by Jehan d'Ivray. This



THE RT. HON. EARL OF CROMER.  
(British minister plenipotentiary at Cairo, and financial adviser to the Khedive.)

French writer admits that the British occupation has been in the interest of the Egyptians themselves, although, of course, he contends that France has been ill-used in the entire affair. He condemns the English, however, for introducing alcoholic liquors into Egypt, and criticises the occupation in other minor points. In general, he says that in the matter of material wealth and the immediate satisfaction of physical wants, Egypt has gained much from the English occupation; but, while her system of colonization is excellent from the material viewpoint, England, "I believe, has failed deplorably from the humanitarian standpoint. The English have created new wants in Egypt, and, it is true, have provided the means in many cases to satisfy these wants." To aid a people in paying their debts is good, "but to teach them and help them not to contract other debts would be much better." The best work which the British have accomplished in Egypt is to be found in the military reforms, in finance, and in the irrigation works. Far otherwise, however, are the British efforts at judicial reform. The writer protests against the introduction of Englishmen into judicial tribunals to the exclusion of the natives. The British justices, he says, not only have no knowledge of the Arabic language, but many of them know very little about law. In the schools, the French language has been suppressed and replaced by English, and the native justices are required to study English, as it is easier for

them to learn something of that language than it is for the British to acquire a knowledge of theirs. The result is, the new native justices have given up the practice of studying in France, and are satisfied with an inferior training in their own country. Thus, the judicial condition of the country has returned to the deplorable ignorance complained of twenty years ago.

#### BRITISH INFLUENCE DISASTROUS TO EDUCATION.

While Britain has been happy in the reforms she has brought about in the domains of agriculture and finance, her influence in the domain of education has been disastrous. Nearly all the French professors of Cairo and Alexandria have been replaced by Englishmen, and even in the provinces, native teachers who have passed some time in England, or have acquired a knowledge of English, are chosen. The curriculum of

studies has been lowered, and all the pupils are adepts at football and tennis. The school of medicine has recently had to close its doors owing to lack of pupils, with the result that in 1904 only twenty native doctors, against eighty foreigners, applied for permission to practise their art in Egypt. In every domain, the British fill the best posts, and the doors are closed to the natives. "The Egyptian is kept in a veritable state of servitude. He is taught nothing which could awaken in him ideas of justice and humanity. Alcoholism has spread like a train of fire. The British have introduced their bars. Whiskey is sovereign on the banks of the Nile, as in India brandy takes the place of bread." As with Malta and India, and all the conquests of Albion, Egypt is regarded as a source of revenue, and little concern is shown for the condition of the worker or producer.

### "THE PHILIPPINES FOR THE AMERICANS."

**I**N several articles in one issue of the *South China Weekly Post*, a British journal of Hongkong, the American administration of the Philippines is taken to task severely. The condemnation is, chiefly, not on the score of undue severity or of corruption, but of insufficient firmness, of too great consideration for the native Filipinos, who, the editor of the *South China Weekly Post* insists, are an inferior race and must always remain so, no matter how well educated. In speaking of the Samar revolt, the writer deprecates the mildness of American methods. He says on this point:

Unfortunately, the American Government has adopted the impossible and quixotic theory of the Philippines for the Filipinos; and, until it learns wisdom in the hard school of experience, the white planter or merchant is almost an impossibility. . . . The pity of it all is that the American Government has been sincerely anxious to rule the natives for their own good, that it has neither exploited the islands unfairly nor willingly oppressed any man. Its failure has been due to inexperience. It is the failure of the amateur, of the man totally unversed in ruling subject races, of he who tries to govern mankind by formulæ. When the United States realizes that East is East and West is West, then it will cease to be troubled by such revolts as that in Samar, but it will find the lesson difficult to learn.

In another article, entitled "America's Refractory Child,—A Contrast," a comparison of our methods in the Philippines is made with Great Britain's policy in her Asiatic colonies. The Briton, we are reminded, has learned in the bitter school of experience how to rule subject nations. "Phrases and formulæ have no part

in framing his policy,—it is guided by stern, concrete facts."

The American, however, has but lately embarked on the dangerous path of colonial government, and is endeavoring to prove that Great Britain, with her three hundred years of experience to guide her, is, none the less, both ethically and practically wrong. The Philippines have cost the people of the States an immense sum, and the lives of thousands of soldiers, yet the federal government declines to countenance any policy which aims at treating the islands as an asset of the republic. The Philippines are for the Filipinos, it proclaims. Any attempt to treat them as an American possession, in the British sense of the term, is decried as an infraction of various formulæ regarding the rights of man; although the obvious injustice of using the national funds for the benefit of an alien race, despite the opposition of a large tax-paying minority, is conveniently overlooked. Had the entire expenses of the Philippine experiment been borne by those who were in sympathy with the theory, the world might well have applauded; but as the matter stands the opposition may very plausibly claim that the government is violating those very ideals of liberty which it professes to regard so highly. The American has come to the far East with no previous experience of dealing with subject races. Despite the evidence of history, even of his own senses, he has declined to recognize the Filipino as an inferior. The native is, in the words of the late governor, "the little brown brother." Disregarding concrete facts, ignoring natural laws, the federal government has shut its eyes to the manifold weaknesses of the native. It has drawn no distinction between white and brown; it has denied the very existence of the eternal barrier of color. The Filipino is not regarded as a being altogether lower in the scale of evolution, but merely as an equal who has been debarred from the privileges of education. Officially, all the little brown

brother needs is schoolbooks. Cram him with education learned by rote, and, theoretically, he will become equal to the European, to the product of countless generations of civilization. Once educated, he will—still theoretically—be able to govern himself.

Such is the general scheme of American education in the Philippines, according to the *South China Post*.

This idea, it is admitted, has been carried out with righteous consistency.

It comes as a shock to the Britisher in the Philippines when he first sees an educated white man fraternizing with a semi-savage; when he finds that native judges may try Europeans; that all the best official billets go to the colored man; that natives can be elected governors of provinces by a native electorate; that the towns are ruled, and a *soi-disant* justice administered, by native presidents, who are far removed from all white supervision. In Africa, from the Great Lakes to Cape Agulhas, there is not a single colored official, not even a colored clerk, save in Cape Colony, and there only in the most subordinate positions. But the American believes he knows, intuitively, more than the Briton has learned since the day of Elizabeth, and that theories and platitudes form the essential basis of true liberty.

Dire have been the consequences of this policy, we are told.

No attempt has been made to develop the marvelous natural resources of the islands. The government has set its face against any exploitation; and, instead of encouraging the influx of white men and capital, which would lead to an increased prosperity for both European and Filipino, it has successfully endeavored to keep out would-be planters and merchants. Heavy import duties and the total prohibition of alien labor bid fair to bring the islands to the verge of ruin, despite their wonderful possibilities. Under the new *régime*, the native has lost all sense of proportion. He imagines himself the equal of the white man, and is so fully occupied with political vamping and seditious schemes that he is losing the habitude of honest labor. Consequently, Indian and Chinese coolies being prohibited, every form of industry is languishing.

In consequence, says this British editor,

the Americans here are, for the most part, bitterly hostile to the Government; and, very naturally, view the preference given to the native as an outrage. Even the chartered company, the most unpopular and inefficient government permitted under the Union Jack, has never been the subject of so much hostile criticism from its own subjects as the Philippines Commission to-day.

The end it is not difficult to see, in the opinion of this writer :

The more the Filipino is given, the more he will demand; and before long a point will be reached when even the present nerveless administration will cease to make concessions. Then, being a pampered and unreliable individual, the Filipino will endeavor to take what he desires by force. The large numbers of native troops and constabulary, some twenty thousand in all,

will furnish many recruits, armed and trained, to the new insurgent party, and a sanguinary war will result. Ultimately, the insurrection will be crushed; and by that time the federal government will probably have learned that the ruling of native races requires something beyond mere copy-book platitudes for guidance. The army will be in control; and it is unlikely that the direction of affairs will again be taken out of its hands. In the past, the American officer proved himself a capable administrator, clean-handed and just; and probably when he is reinstated he will not belie his past reputation.

These views find an echo in the earnest words of one of our correspondents, who writes us from Hongkong. Because we print here a portion of his letter, it does not necessarily imply that this REVIEW indorses the following paragraphs from this communication, whose author wishes to be known as "An American Drummer in the Orient" :

The Philippines I believe to be one of the richest countries in the world in natural resources. The natives have been there for centuries, but have done nothing toward their country's development. And they never will. Why they should have this beautiful country to waste is beyond understanding. The life of the United States is its commerce. At the present rate of increase in production of manufactured goods, ten or twenty years will see an end to the increased demand. And then what will happen? Factories must be closed, laborers thrown out of employment, and capital must lie idle. What is the remedy? The Philippines.

The East, China especially, is slowly awakening, and in twenty years will have reached a point when her demand for goods will be enormous. The Philippines are geographically the distributing point for the Orient. Then, let our country awake to the possibilities before it, and in the next twenty years do everything possible to build up the Philippines and trade with the Orient. Establish free trade with the United States. Put Americans in charge of all departments of the government. Make it possible for American planters and investors to find safety there. Allow the importation of Chinese labor, so the resources can be developed.

And just let me say a word about Chinese labor. I remember seeing in the different papers of the United States articles condemning the action of the British Government in taking Chinese coolies to Africa to work in the mines. The question of humanity was played upon strongly, and virtual slavery, etc. Now, let me say that whatever you do to a Chinese coolie, you cannot make his lot worse than it is in China. Any change to any clime is a benefit to him. Why, the men who had charge of sending the coolies to Africa received a bonus from the mine-owners in Africa, and also took pay from the coolies for a *chance to go*. The applications were far in excess of the demands. How our lawmakers can sit in Washington and say that it would be detrimental to the Philippines to bring in Chinese labor is beyond comprehension. It will be the means of salvation. Every labor union in the United States having the interests of its members at heart should pass a resolution of The Philippines for the Americans, first, last, and all the time.



## JAPAN AND THE KOREANS VERSUS THE KOREAN GOVERNMENT.

THE vital question in the Korean policy of Japan is how to deal with the Korean people, not how to cope with the Seoul government, says Saburo Shimada, a member of the Japanese House of Peers, in the *Taiyo*, of Tokio.

The Korean Emperor and the court cliques surrounding him are thinking of nothing but their own selfish interests, with little apprehension as to the fate of their country. Such a ruler and such courtiers are not difficult to control, if Japan's strong hand puts an end to their almost unceasing plottings and intrigues.

The real question is, How can Japan rule and guide the ten million souls which constitute the Korean nation? Many who have business interests in the peninsula, and those who are experienced in political affairs at Seoul, often arrive at the sweeping conclusion that the Koreans are shiftless, lazy, jealous, fickle, and utterly devoid of conscience. Mr. Shimada asserts that the Koreans are not vicious by nature, but have been made such as they are at present through the influence of political and social environment. Assuming that the present Korean nation is nothing but a degenerated form of a once sturdy and vigorous people, Mr. Shimada holds out a promise of its regeneration.

The despairing view that the Koreans are not susceptible to uplifting influences is generally voiced by politicians and business men. Educators and religious workers, on the contrary, are hopeful of the regeneration of the Koreans. Between these widely different opinions, where are we to find the truth?

Mr. Shimada believes that under a sound rulership and a trustworthy government the Koreans can be made reliable and industrious. As an example of the possibility of improving the Korean nation he mentions Christian churches which are now being established in a considerable number. It has been considered imprudent to save money in the Hermit Kingdom, because the exacting official might come at any moment to deprive people of the reward of their toil. But where the gospel of Christ has been preached there have come into existence a number of churches supported by the contributions of the thrifty and industrious. Thus, Christianity is teaching the Koreans the value of industry and money as well as the principles of humanity. Unfortunately, such civilizing agencies have been neglected by the Japanese. Politically, Japan has done much for Korea, but political influence is merely on the surface, and does not reach deep into the minds of the people.

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## IS THE RUSSIAN PEASANT REALLY AROUSED?

A CAREFUL study of the entire peasant agrarian movement in Russia appears in the *Russkiya Vyedomosti*, by Dr. Maksimovich, a condensation of which is made by the monthly, *Obrazovaniye*. We summarize the version of the latter.

The general features of the agrarian disorders have been practically the same all over the country, we are informed.

The peasants usually informed the landlord in advance as to their proposed visit to his estate. In some cases a committee of peasants came and inspected the place and then announced that the peasants would come on a certain day. At the appointed time a stack of straw was set on fire, a bonfire built, or merely a large bundle of straw tied to a long pole and ignited, and at this signal a crowd of peasants gathered with their wagons. In some cases there were from five hundred to seven hundred of the latter. In one case (at Romanovka) the signal was given by sounding the fire alarm. The assembled peasants advanced on the estate, discharged guns at their approach, broke the locks of the granaries, loaded the grain on their wagons, and departed. The presence of the estate-owner, or of the

manager, did not at all embarrass them. They permitted him to witness the proceedings, and made no attempt to drive him off the place, yet they offered no explanations to him. They pillaged mainly the grain stores; other farm products were taken by them only in rare instances. Hence, they seldom disturbed any of the other farm buildings. In Prilyepy, the peasants carried off the grains, but did not molest the sugar refinery; in Petrovsk, they did likewise without disturbing the whiskey distillery. They made no attempt, as a rule, to enter the dwellings. They demanded no money, with perhaps one exception. No violence was attempted, although in Vitch the local constable received a slight wound. As a rule, the peasants behaved with moderation. The same attitude was observed toward the government liquor stores. The peasants came there at night, previous to the descent on some estate, and demanded that the store be opened. After drinking whiskey, at times in great quantities, they paid for it and departed. No violence was attempted against schools and hospitals, so that in a number of cases the estate-owners sought refuge in schoolhouses. The pillage was participated in by entire villages—men, women, and youths. Among those arrested for robbery and confined in the prison at Syevsk there is a blind beggar. His fellow-villagers had supplied him with a horse and



THE CZAR (between the Japanese and a constitution): "I give up!"—From the *Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam).

wagon and helped him to load it with grain. In some cases only a part of the peasants in the village engaged in the pillaging of some estate, but later the remaining peasants, tempted by the example of their fellow-villagers, made a similar descent on some other estate. There was no systematic apportionment of estates among the different villages, the pillaging being done by peasants of various villages, who at times came from distant places. It is stated that single peasants were compelled to join these pillaging expeditions under threat of violence, yet it is difficult to determine whether this was really so.

As stated above, the peasants endeavored, on the whole, not to exceed certain limits, though they were not always successful in this. At times, under the stress of excitement, or under the influence of liquor, moderation was thrown to the winds and riot ran its course unchecked. In Glamazdin, the peasants not only pillaged the granaries, but set fire to the dwellings, out-buildings, and distillery. The same fate overtook the distillery at Khinel, and the sugar refinery at Mikhailovsk. The riot at Khinel assumed a terrifying character. The mob, mad with drink, destroyed everything in their reach. The effect of these disorders on the estate-owners may be easily imagined. No one dreamed of resistance. With the arrival of larger bodies of troops the disorders ceased, but many dis-

quieting rumors still persist. The peasants are said to have openly declared that they would not permit any spring operations on estate lands, and it is also stated that they are trying to secure money in advance on work to be performed later in the season, boasting, meanwhile, that they would make no attempt to do that work.

The causes of the disorders, both general and local, are quite complex, and are difficult to determine in all cases. One of them, indirectly, is the war. The mobilization in the district of Dmitriev caused marked discontent among the peasants. Moreover, there are many wounded there returned from the far East, who are in a miserable condition and desperate over their fate. Finally, something should be attributed to the belief prevailing among the peasantry that but few soldiers now remain in European Russia, for "they are all in the far East."

#### Why These Movements Fail.

One of the questions that must have occurred to every one who has given any thought to these peasant movements is why we do not see more far-reaching consequences from them. Mr. Wolf Dohm, writing in the *Hilfs* (Berlin), points out that the occurrences in one place have

ceased being news before reaching the next one.

This became strikingly manifest during the disorders in Gornel. The property where I was stationed at that time is situated about one hundred kilometers from the town, a steamer running daily up the river, and the steamboat office is thirty kilometers from the estate. Yet the news about the massacre reached us first after a period of three to four weeks. Who is going to care any more about it after such a long time? People shake their heads, comment and criticise, but for prompt action the urgent necessity of the moment is gone. The impulse dies before it has been awakened. It is necessary to keep in memory the fact that 80 per cent. of the whole population in Russia is scattered over the waste plains in little villages protected by the popes (priests). If there is revolution in Paris, it is revolution in France. Not so in Russia. The cries of flogged and massacred people in the cities are not heard on the immense plains.

The Russian peasant, the writer declares, is pious, patriotic, and devoted to the Czar. When the fall comes and the harvest has been gathered in, the functionaries of the government arrive and rob him of the toilsome profit of his work. During the winter he suffers, consequently, great need. Yet the peasant is patient and hungers through the winter with his cattle. In the spring, weakened by the long fasting, it often happens that the cattle fall to the ground and die on green meadow. The peasant suffers thus because he does not know anything else, and because he is by no means able to see the connection.

And how can he? In this century of public-school education anybody would realize that the government is the cause of the evil. The Russian peasant thinks different. No, he says, the Czar and the government are not guilty. Guilty are the tax officers, because they steal; guilty are the judges, because they are bribed;

guilty are, above all, the landlords, because they have much land, much corn, and many horses. If we only had more land, it would be different; but why do we not possess more land? The country is great, but it is divided since many years. Our children must go to the factories or emigrate to Siberia or the West. Land is too small, harvest is too small, and if I did not work in the woods during the winter I could not support my family. And why is this? Did not Czar Alexander give us land, and did he not take it from the landlords? Why does not Czar Nicholas do the same? Whence does the landlord get the land? Land belongs actually to man, and not to landlords. Does my field belong to me? No, it is county property. But why does the landlord own his land?

Thus reasons the Russian peasant. When he is hungry, or when the military commission levies all men able to work and nobody is left to cultivate the land, he does not raise the cry of the intelligent laborers for a constitution, but calls for—bread. The peasant goes now to the property of the landlord and demands corn. If it happens to be no holiday and the peasant is sober, he is satisfied if he gets it and returns home. Furthermore, much will depend on how the new military commission will go to work. If they only take a few out of every village, the writer claims, everything will remain quiet. If they take many, the peasant will say, and we hear it already, If the government takes our men, we will take corn from the landlords, for how shall our wives and our children live?

Here is indeed the key to the great Russian problem. So long as the government has nothing to fear from the peasantry, it can without conscience continue the foul play of promises of improvements. This is the truth, and it is serious for many that are ready to sacrifice life and liberty for their country. On the waste plains sleeps the future of Russia,—but where is the man to awaken it?

## AN ENGLISH DISCUSSION OF LIFE ASSURANCE.

IN view of the recent crisis in the affairs of one of the great life insurance companies of New York, it is interesting to follow the discussion that has been begun in the pages of the *Grand Magazine* (London) on the wisdom or unwisdom of life insurance. In the June number of that periodical, Mr. John Holt Schooling maintains that the civilized world has agreed that life assurance is wise, as is proved by the vast amount of life-assurance business done, £33,000,000 (\$165,000,000), or nearly £650,000 (\$3,250,000) a week, having been paid in 1902 in the United Kingdom alone for premiums.

The population was 42,000,000, and the premium-paying part of the population may be regarded as per-

sons aged fifteen and older,—namely, 28,000,000 persons, who among them paid the £33,000,000. This means, approximately, a yearly and voluntary payment of £1 8s. 6d. per head of the population of this country, aged fifteen and over, as practical proof that in their opinion life assurance is wise. In this country alone, there is accumulated evidence, to the value of £289,000,000, of the truth that life assurance is wise. And in addition to the facts just stated, we have all the friendly societies doing life assurance, and sickness assurance, whose accumulated funds are approximately £40,000,000.

Now if life assurance is wise, why is it wise? Primarily, because it is prudent. "It enables a man to rid himself of some injurious effects of an adverse chance that is always present while he lives,—the chance of death coming to him

unexpectedly." The insinuations that life assurance is but a form of gambling Mr. Schooling indignantly and, most people will think, successfully repudiates.

The man who assures his life ceases to be engaged in a gamble with death, in so far as relates to money, and he takes upon himself a contract that involves a certain yearly payment, for a certain amount to be paid whenever he may die. The nature of this contract constitutes the radical difference between life assurance and betting. For in life assurance you replace a chance by a certainty, and in betting you continue to take the risk of a chance.

A certain small minority, he admits, whose death would entail no hardship on any other person, may without much harm continue taking the chances of betting, and let the book-makers and not the life assurance company have the profits. But, as Mr. Schooling says, there are very few persons so situated.

It appears from Mr. Schooling's article that the great English companies have been subjected to criticisms very similar to those which the "big three" of New York have been called upon to answer.

As to the "palatial offices" of life assurance companies supposed to have been paid for out of lapsed policies, Mr. Schooling says:

These are usually the growth of years of successful and wide-spreading business, and inside inspection of them will disclose the fact that they are a very hive of industry, directly promoting the thrift and prudence of the nation, and in no way out of proportion to the vast business that has to be got through daily. These buildings, palatial or otherwise, are simply adapted to the most efficient performance of the work that has to be done in them.

#### Insurance Declared Unwise.

Mr. Bellot's view is that insurance is but a form of gambling, and that if gambling is unwise, so must life assurance be unwise also.

So far, therefore, as the assured puts down his money

with the certainty of repayment sooner or later, either to himself, if it is an endowment policy, or to his representatives, if it is a life policy, whereas the gambler runs the risk of losing, not only the increase he expects to gain, but the sum wagered as well, insurance and gambling are not on all-fours. But, subject to this distinction, the practice of life assurance is as much gambling as backing a horse on a race-course or bulling or bearing shares in a bucketshop.

Even Mr. Bellot, however, concedes that, "apart from the morality of the question, it must undoubtedly be admitted that life assurance is economically beneficial, not only to the individual, but to the community at large." But, he asks, is the benefit conferred commensurate with the outlay, and are the companies' profits legitimate in the sense that the shareholders receive no more than a fair market return for the use of their money? Profits exceeding 5 per cent. on the original capital he considers excessive; and there is not one of the large number of well-known companies he instances whose profits do not exceed, often very greatly exceed, that sum, one (Sun Life) even reaching 95 per cent. His remedy is the fixing of a maximum rate of interest, which he does not propose to impose on present companies, though he thinks that by a system of graduated taxation it might in course of time be brought about.

Or the state might extend and expand its present restricted post-office system of life assurance, or, better still, take over bodily the whole business of life assurance in the United Kingdom.

In which connection it is strange that he does not mention the long-tried experiment of state life insurance in New Zealand. His objections are not to life assurance in itself, however, but merely to the way in which it is often conducted. It is not free from the spirit of gambling; profits to shareholders are excessive, and require state limitation.

## JEWISH IMMIGRANTS DESIRED IN ENGLAND.

IN connection with the aliens bill before Parliament, the British reviews are discussing the pros and cons of an open-door immigration policy. In the *Fortnightly* for June, Mr. M. J. Landa, who writes from close practical acquaintance with the Jews of Whitechapel, London, states "The Case for the Alien." He shows that the Polish Jewish immigrant is, physically and morally, a better man than the London East Ender. Of one lot of Russian reservists who arrived in January we are told: "They are

well-developed, well-fed, big-chested men, with legs like molded pillars." Major-General Moody declared that he had never seen a finer lot of men, taken as a whole. Their health is so excellent that there has been only one case of illness in the shelter in six years.

The Jewish mothers are better mothers than English mothers. They feed their children from the breast, and not from the bottle. Jewish children at twelve years of age weigh seven pounds more than English children of the same



class, and stand two inches higher. Whitechapel is the best-vaccinated district in London.

#### THE JEWS MORE MORAL THAN THE BRITONS.

Their death rate is low, and they are so moral and sober that they have converted East End hells into respectable homes. The Rev. W. H. Davies, the rector of Spitalfields, told the Alien Commission :

The Jew has wiped out whole areas of vice and infamy. Where once we had houses in streets like Flower and Dean streets, and various streets of that kind, now dwellings like the Rothschild Buildings stand. I suppose it was as near a hell upon earth as it was possible to make a place, and all that has been wiped out. There are streets, too, where they have gone into houses of ill-fame, notoriously bad houses, and they have taken one room and lived there. They have been insulted and persecuted, but they have held their ground. They have never quarreled. Then they have taken a second room, or some other Jewish family has taken a second room, until gradually they have got the whole house, and so purified the whole street by excluding the objectionable people who lived there. It is a most marvelous thing, but they have done it.—(Minutes of Evidence, Cd. 1,742, answer 9,768.)

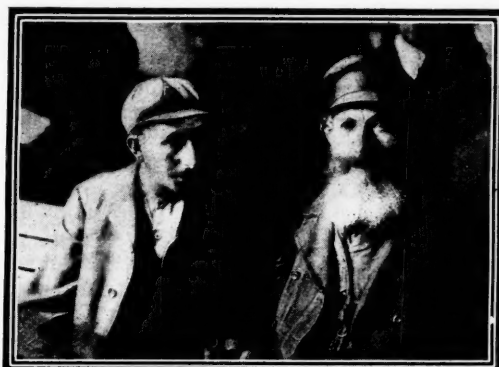
#### THEIR ZEAL FOR EDUCATION.

The Jewish passion for education is notorious. But it is not generally known how much more regularly they attend school than do the Gentiles.

The average school attendance in the country is 85 per cent. ; in Whitechapel, it is about 95,—it is never less than that in a group of schools in the heart of Whitechapel of which I am a manager,—while the Leylands Jewish school at Leeds some years ago won a prize of a piano for the best attendance in the kingdom for a year with the wonderful figure of 99.47 per cent. The schoolmaster, Mr. J. Watson, a non-Jew, claims a world's record in attendance for this school ; for seven years it has not been under 98 per cent. There are nearly one thousand children in the school, and in a letter dated January 13 last Mr. Watson writes to me : "I am proud of my scholars, most of whom will make citizens whom any nation may be delighted to possess." The same enthusiastic tribute to their Jewish scholars was paid by every East End schoolmaster—all non-Jews—who gave evidence before the Alien Commission.

#### BAD RECORD OF AMERICANS IN LONDON.

The criminal alien is more often an American than a Jew. The Americans, who are only 6 per cent. of the alien population, contribute 23½ of the alien criminality. The Russians and Poles, who are 33 per cent. of the alien population, only contribute 17 per cent. of the crime. As for the accusation that they add to London's pauperism and increase the poor rate, the very reverse is the truth. Whitechapel is the most Jewish alien district in the country. It is almost the only district where the number of outdoor paupers has been reduced to almost nothing,



JEWISH EMIGRANTS FROM RUSSIA—FATHER AND SON.

ing, while the increase of indoor paupers is only 29 per cent. in thirty-three years, as against 89.5 per cent. in the rest of the metropolis. Clearly, if this be so, the more Jewish aliens England can import the lower will be the poor rate.

#### THE JEWS CREATE NEW INDUSTRIES.

But it is urged that these Jewish aliens blackleg, undersell, and oust the British workingman. To this Mr. Landa replies that they have created work for the workingman. He quotes from the commission's report as follows :

The development of the three main industries—tailoring, cabinetmaking, and shoemaking—in which the alien engage has undoubtedly been beneficial in various ways ; it has increased the demand for, and the manufacture, not only of goods made in this country (which were formerly imported from abroad), but of the materials used in them, thus indirectly giving employment to native workers.

Wages have gone up instead of going down after the Jews came. He says :

During his election campaign in North Leeds in July, 1902, Mr. Rowland Barran, M.P., a member of what is probably the largest firm of ready-made clothiers in the world, stated that the Jews had enabled England to maintain practically a monopoly of the clothing trade of the world. Within the last twenty years huge factories have been erected in Leeds, and it is computed that fully twenty thousand non-Jewish workers are engaged there in an industry which the city owes almost entirely to the aliens.

It was the Jews who introduced the ladies' tailoring industry into England. Now twenty thousand persons are employed in this business in England, doing work that formerly was sent abroad. So it is in the cigarette and waterproof industry. The only "industry" that seems to have suffered from the coming of the Jews is the trade in drink and the keeping of houses of ill-fame.

## GLASGOW AND BOSTON: A STREET-RAILWAY COMPARISON.

ONE of the most conspicuous instances of street-railway municipalization in the world is in the city of Glasgow, where the city not only owns, but operates, the tramway lines. Because Glasgow's experiment is believed to be the most favorable for municipal ownership that could be selected, it is chosen by Mr. Hayes Robbins (writing in the *American Journal of Sociology*) for comparison with the experience of Boston, where in place of ownership of the transportation lines by the city there is an efficient system of public control.

Probably the public is as much interested in the question of fares as in any other phase of the street-railway problem, and American readers will be especially interested in the data presented by Mr. Robbins under this head. Any comparison of fares involves, of course, a consideration of the amount of service furnished in the respective cases. As between Glasgow and Boston, there is really less difference than might at first sight appear. Glasgow has a graduated scale of fares, ranging from 1 cent for a little over half a mile to 8 cents for 9 miles. A five-cent fare carries a passenger 5.8 miles in Glasgow. Mr. Robbins concludes that "the confusions and complications of such a system, for the varying distances traveled, would prohibit it from meeting the demand for the utmost possible expedition on our large American city transit systems. Even more serious is the increasing rate of penalty it imposes upon the wide distribution of traffic, and hence upon the building up of workingmen's homes in the suburbs." Mr. Robbins makes this latter point clear by means of a detailed comparison, as follows:

In Boston, the uniform fare is 5 cents, and by means of the free-transfer privilege it is possible, for this sum, to ride from one end of the system to the other, fully 20 miles. Wage-earners and clerks employed in the busi-

ness districts can live 8 to 9 miles out and ride to and from their homes for 5 cents, while the Glasgow "suburbanite," to travel equal distances, if the lines extended that far, would have to pay 7 and 8 cents, respectively. A journey of 15 or 16 miles out from central points in Boston, by connection with outlying suburban lines, may be taken for 10 cents, and 20 to 25 miles for 15 cents. The same distances, under the Glasgow rates, would cost 13, 14, 18, and 22 cents, respectively.

The short-ride and congested-district character of the Glasgow service must be borne in mind in connection with the fact that the average amount received per passenger, based on the returns of annual earnings, is a little less than 2 cents. In Boston, counting the free-transfer passengers, it is about  $3\frac{1}{4}$  cents. But what is the effect of the sliding scale on Glasgow traffic? Simply that the great bulk of the travel consists of short rides within the city limits. *Thirty-six per cent.* of the passengers pay one-cent fares,—that is, ride only half a mile; 56 per cent. pay the two-cent fare, covering 2.33 miles; only 8 per cent. pay fares of 3 cents and upward; in other words, only 8 per cent. make journeys of more than 3.5 miles.

To be even more explicit: The most distant suburban point to which the Glasgow tramways extend is Paisley, 6.95 miles. To get there costs 6 cents, or 7 from the center of the city. The next farthest point is Clydebank, 6.39 miles; fare, 6 cents. Three other suburbs are between 4 and 5 miles, and one about  $3\frac{1}{4}$ . From Park Street station, Boston, a passenger may ride 9.53 miles to Arlington Heights for 5 cents; 9.83 miles to Charles River Bridge; 8.23 miles to Arlington Center; 8 miles to Waverley; 7.9 miles to the Melrose line; 7.36 miles to Milton; 7.3 miles to Neponset; 6.32 miles to Woodlawn; and 6.04 miles to Lake Street; and the uniform fare for any one of these journeys, or for any two of them in combination, through free transfer, is 5 cents.

To show that the Glasgow system is not doing what it should to relieve the congestion of population in the crowded portions of the city, Mr. Robbins cites the results of a recent investigation, which brought to light the fact that 30 per cent. of the families in Glasgow were living in single rooms, as compared with about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in Boston.

## A WARNING TO AMERICAN ART COLLECTORS.

A CABLEGRAM which appeared in a New York newspaper a few weeks ago announced the seizure, by the police of Paris, of numerous "faked" pictures in the sale-rooms of the Hôtel Drouot. The seized paintings, it was said, bore the forged signatures of Boudin, Corot, Courbet, Harpignies, and Jongkind. American picture-buyers, reading the announcement, must have been amazed by the revelation that it made of the utter lack of protection against

fraud in these Parisian sale-rooms. Apparently, the American connoisseur is quite at the mercy of the official "experts" who control the picture sales. This shady side of the Parisian picture trade, which seems to be little known in the United States, is the subject of an unsigned article in the *North American Review* for June. The writer of this article maintains that these fraudulent practices in picture-selling have never been so barefaced as during the last few years.

## IMPORTANCE OF THE "EXPERT."

The auctioneers are admittedly ignorant men. There are no necessary qualifications for this calling except a sum of money large enough to purchase a post. "A Paris auctioneer need have no artistic knowledge." He may, of course, acquire knowledge after a few years' practice, but in the meantime "fakes" are passing through his hands and being sold as genuine. He is assisted, it is true, by an expert, and as to this functionary the writer of the *North American* article remarks:

The expert in a Paris picture sale has no responsibility whatever. Yet he it is who presides over the sale, who draws up the catalogue in any manner he thinks fit, and who packs the sale-room with his friends and accomplices, with whom he is frequently agreed as to the opportune moment of putting up this or that work of art. The interests of the venders, and these are often widows or minors, are entirely in his hands, and, if he is so disposed, he can sacrifice them without fear of anything worse than reproach. On the occasion of a recent sale at the Hôtel Drouot, a certain expert, who, as is frequently the case, is also a dealer, placed a value of 150 francs upon a picture. One of the spectators, recognizing that the canvas was a good one and worth much more than the price placed upon it, bid again and again. The expert was also very anxious to have the picture,—so much so, in fact, that he bid up to the sum of 1,200 francs before securing it. No sooner had the picture been knocked down to him at this price than a well-known Parisian art critic rose and reproached the expert with offering 1,200 francs for a work which he had valued at only 150 francs. It more frequently happens, however, that the "expert" is distinguished for his crass ignorance.

## SPURIOUS PAINTINGS FOR THE AMERICAN MARKET.

This writer declares that in the Montmartre and Montparnasse quarters there are many "manufactories" in which artists are employed on salaries copying the canvases of the great masters. These copies, duly stamped as authentic, are sent to the United States and sold "for their weight in gold" to American millionaires. The forger no longer waits for an artist's death before realizing on his masterpieces. Not long since, a consignment of twenty-nine paintings, all copies of works by three living artists, was seized at one of the ports just before shipment to the United States.

Twenty years ago, when pictures of the 1830 school were all the rage, thousands of copies of canvases by Corot, Diaz, Dupré, Daubigny, Théodore Rousseau, Troyon, and others were sent in that way to America. Dealers had in their employment a small army of imitators of those great painters. These *pasticheurs* worked, some, near Fontainebleau; others, in the neighborhood of Cernay, every week bringing in their work, signed, of course, with famous names. All the canvases by

pupils of Corot, Diaz, and the others—men who had worked more or less in the style of their masters—which could be found were collected and re-signed. How is it that nowadays so few pictures by Villers and Mazon can be found? The many works which those excellent painters produced have not been destroyed. No; they have not been thrown away as worthless because of the greater renown of Millet and Corot; they are hanging at this very moment in the galleries of great collectors, but baptized with other names than those of the men who painted them!

Here is another instance of what used to be done about the year 1880. A certain dealer in Paris bought one picture by each of the following painters: Corot, Daubigny, Diaz, and Théodore Rousseau. Engaging a clever copyist at a salary of one thousand francs a month, and providing him with a house and garden in the country, he set him to work to copy each picture twenty-five times, slightly varying the subject in each case. The hundred copies were produced in ten months, during which time, according to agreement, the painter saw no one save his servant. All these copies were sent to the United States and sold as originals from the collections of this or that well-known Parisian.

Very much the same thing is done nowadays in the case of eighteenth-century pictures. As in 1880, huge fortunes are being made by dealers who ten years ago were unknown in the picture trade. In forging old pictures, generally portraits, not only the copyist, but the painter-restorer, plays a part. The way in which the latter proceeds about his work will be seen from what follows.

A dealer collects together a number of pictures by one or other of the numerous old masters whose works are not in vogue,—if possible, pictures by a painter who worked somewhat in the style of this or that famous artist; and from these, by means of skillful retouching, the painter-restorer produces works which are signed Rembrandt, Ruysdael, Hobbema, Raphael, Boucher, or Watteau. Placed in the shops of dealers who are supposed to be honest, these canvases find a ready market among wealthy collectors, who almost invariably trust another person's opinion in preference to their own. In the case of portraits and pictures containing figures, such as those by Largillière, which, like Nattier's works, are just now rising in value, a similar method is adopted, only care is taken to select pictures the light parts of which are uninjured and as near as possible in the style of the master whose work is to be imitated. With the assistance of good engravings, the drawing is slightly altered; half-tones and shadows are added; and, by means of glazes, the necessary piquancy and effect are produced. Naturally, canvases of the correct period, and genuine old stretchers—or panels, in the case of painters who usually painted on wood—are selected. Thus, a worthless portrait of, say, an old woman is turned into a picture of a pretty, bright-eyed damsel, which, under the name of either Nattier or Largillière, will "embellish" the gallery of some transatlantic connoisseur.

The patina and cracks of old pictures require very skillful imitating. Some picture-forgers use saffron, bistre, licorice, or black coffee, which have now replaced bacon rind, so much used in former years. When this has been applied and is quite dry, the picture is varnished. Sometimes thick oil is added to the varnish, or it is colored with bitumen, yellow lac, and red ochre, which give almost exactly the tone of old varnish.

Lest some of his readers should be inclined to think that he has exaggerated the perils to which the American collector is exposed, this writer states that many of his facts have been

obtained from a well-known French collector who on more than one occasion has detected the numerous tricks to which these unscrupulous tradesmen resort.

## COLLEGE ATHLETICS AND "SUMMER BALL."

THE amateur code of college ball-players is a subject of heated discussion during the summer months. For this reason the treatment of "summer ball" by Henry Beach Needham in the July number of *McClure's* is especially timely. By summer ball is meant baseball played by collegians on teams of a semi-professional character which are organized to furnish entertainment for the guests at summer resorts. It is said that these "summer nines" had their origin at the White Mountain resorts about fifteen years ago. In those days, college players gave their services on the diamond in exchange for entertainment at the fashionable hotels. At the season's end it was customary to make up a purse by popular subscription for the players. Such conduct was not at first deemed incompatible with proper amateur standards. The players did not forfeit their eligibility to a college team. In 1898, however, when the Conference on Intercollegiate Athletics met at Providence, there was a vigorous pronouncement against the summer nines. All students receiving any emolument, direct or indirect, by reason of their connection with such nines were debarred from college athletics.

Notwithstanding this rigid prohibition, applying to all the leading colleges of the East, the rule has been repeatedly evaded, if not openly violated. It is extremely difficult, as Mr. Needham shows, to obtain legal proof of this form of offense. Circumstantial evidence is seldom accepted by the judicial athletic committees. As the players will not furnish evidence against themselves (regarding the rule as a hardship), the committees are compelled to rely largely on the managers of the teams, who "lie manfully," Mr. Needham says, when asked for evidence. "Thus, in summer ball there is more lying and subterfuge than in any other evil connected with intercollegiate athletics."

Practically all of the colleges which have adopted the Providence rules require athletes to sign an eligibility certificate. The collegians step up and sign without hesitation, but with a mental reservation, for many of them, including men of all colleges, are ineligible.

The universities of the middle West have adopted a rule under which the burden of proof

does not rest with the athletic committee, as it does in the East. "Common report" may be accepted as a "basis for action." If this rule were enforced in the East, declares Mr. Needham, a majority of the college baseball-players would be debarred from further participation in athletics.

### FACULTY RESPONSIBILITY.

Not the undergraduates themselves, but the college faculties, according to Mr. Needham, are responsible at most institutions for the evils of athletics.

The college faculties are responsible, because they have usurped responsibility to themselves. Several years ago, college athletics were entirely in the hands of the undergraduates. Professionalism crept in, and conditions, in some respects, were worse than they are to-day. Instead of delivering this ultimatum to the student body, Purify your athletics or intercollegiate contests will be abolished, the faculties of the colleges, one after another, proceeded to take control into their own hands.

The University of Pennsylvania committee on athletics is a good illustration. Half of the members of the committee are professors, and the student body has but two representatives. For some time there were no undergraduates on the committee. "Undergraduates seemed reluctant to serve on the committee," said Professor Smith, the chairman. "They do not care to be informers against their fellow-students."

The average college professor, it is asserted, does not take the trouble to inform himself on athletic matters. Furthermore, many professors appear lacking in backbone when it comes to dealing with problems in college athletics. That is why athletes rejoice in so many special privileges which are denied the ordinary student. But here and there, on college athletic committees, appears a man with abundance of backbone. Mr. Needham admits as much when he says:

It takes an uncompromising fighter like Professor Hollis, of Harvard, to stand up before an athletic mass-meeting and enunciate this wholesome doctrine: "The athlete who, when indispensable to his team, suffers himself to fall behind in his studies and is put on probation—that man is in the same class with the man who breaks training." There is a growing undergraduate sentiment in favor of this principle, and it is one of the hopeful signs of approaching regeneration in athletics.



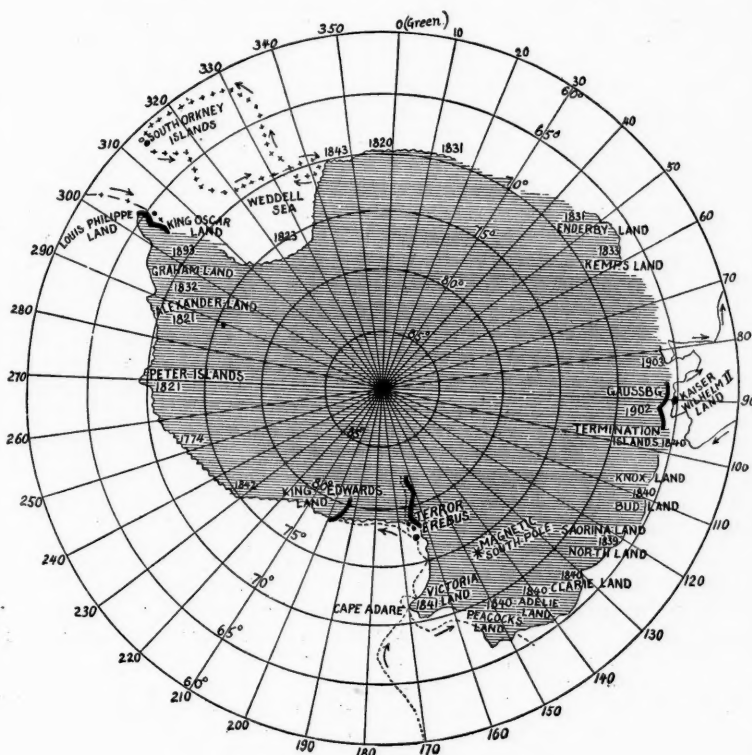
## RECENT EXPLORATIONS OF THE SOUTH POLE.

THE three South Pole expeditions from England, Germany, and Sweden are the subject of an article in the German monthly *Umschau* (Frankfort-on-Main), by Dr. F. Lampe. The results from the international work in the arctic regions, the writer says, cannot yet be fully elaborated, but they have so far considerably increased our geographical knowledge of those parts of the earth.

There was a difference between the English and the German expeditions, which we find set

the South Pole, where there was an unexplored place on the map extending for about forty degrees of longitude. There they expected to find a stream that would convey them near to the Pole and bring them to the Weddell Sea, but on the other side. Instead, however, they discovered a hitherto unknown land, and undertook there close examinations the full value of which will be seen in the future.

The crew of the *Discovery* were at first greatly favored by ice and weather, and they soon espied an unknown land, naming it after King Edward of England. Later, they were entirely surrounded by ice and compelled to remain there over winter. Great stress was laid upon sleighing expeditions, which brought the English expedition nearer the Pole than any former explorers. The winter camp of the *Discovery* was laid near Mount Erebus, where Borchgrewink had passed the winter, and from there Captain Scott and Lieutenant Shackleton undertook, in November, 1903 and 1904, their admirable journeys toward the south. The provender for the dogs proved so unsatisfactory that the animals became sick. One of the leaders, Shackleton, also fell sick. The results attained by the two men are so much more deserving of credit. The lieutenants, Armitage and Skelton, proceeded on a second sleigh tour, penetrating westwardly into Victoria Land, and ascended the ice-fields there up to an altitude of six thousand feet. In the meantime, a relief ship, the *Morning*, under Captain Colback, had started out in search of the *Discovery*. It succeeded in approaching the latter vessel at a distance of eight kilometers, in rescuing the sick among the crew, and in supplying the winter camp with men, coal, and provisions. The *Discovery* was still



MAP OF THE ANTARCTIC REGIONS.

forth in the names of the ships. The German ship, the *Gauss*, carried the name of a celebrated man of science to the antarctic regions, while the English vessel, *Discovery*, was intended for new explorations. The best-known part of Victoria Land was chosen for this latter purpose,—that is, the place where Captain Ross, and sixty years later the Norwegian, Borchgrewink, had already penetrated farther south than any former explorer. The learned savants on the *Gauss*, on the contrary, selected the territory of

tenants, Armitage and Skelton, proceeded on a second sleigh tour, penetrating westwardly into Victoria Land, and ascended the ice-fields there up to an altitude of six thousand feet. In the meantime, a relief ship, the *Morning*, under Captain Colback, had started out in search of the *Discovery*. It succeeded in approaching the latter vessel at a distance of eight kilometers, in rescuing the sick among the crew, and in supplying the winter camp with men, coal, and provisions. The *Discovery* was still

held fast by the ice, and had to remain over winter once more. We see here again a contrast with the German expedition, which after wintering was conducted out into the open sea by the drift ice, and in spite of all efforts to find another haven for winter camp, failed to do so. Notwithstanding the fact that the whole crew of the *Gauss* was in perfect health and provisions still plentiful, the expedition was compelled to return home by order of the Berlin government. Samples of the provisions were sent to the St. Louis exposition, in order to prove the excellence of these German products.

Returning to the English expedition, we find Captain Scott and Lieutenant Skelton, during the second winter, on another two-month sleigh journey into Victoria Land. The journey brought many good results in geographical knowledge, particularly magnetic phenomena. The magnetic South Pole was found to be more to the southwest than Ross had believed. There were also some geological discoveries of petrified vegetables. The Swedish expedition found such fossils, too, which proves that there formerly existed a much milder climate in those regions. It also indicates an ancient connection with the Australian continent.

On January, 1904, two relief ships arrived. It was presumed that the *Morning* alone would not be able to rescue the crew and the cargo of the *Discovery*, whose liberation from the ice was

hardly expected. In the month of February the vessels nevertheless got out of the ice, and they succeeded also in coaling. A violent storm then separated the three ships *Discovery*, *Morning*, and *Terranova*, so that they did not meet again until their arrival at New Zealand. The *Antarctic*, the vessel fitted out by the Swedish Government, had to be abandoned by the crew, which later were rescued by an Argentine gunboat. The results of this expedition prove also of great value, and the scientific material is abundant.

A glance at the sketch of the land around the South Pole shows that the antarctic regions have been explored since 1774. As to the recent discoveries, the German expedition has proved that the so-called island of Termination, seen in 1840, and later sought for by the *Challenger* expedition, never really existed, but that the coast about ten degrees southward extends from east to west. The weather conditions indicated that behind this coast there is a great continent extending toward the south. Geographical results from the Swedish expedition also make plain that what have heretofore been regarded as separated territories, such as Louis Philippe Island and Graham Land, really constitute a single peninsula from a continent probably extending from the south. We can therefore say that antarctic territories are more compact than heretofore believed.

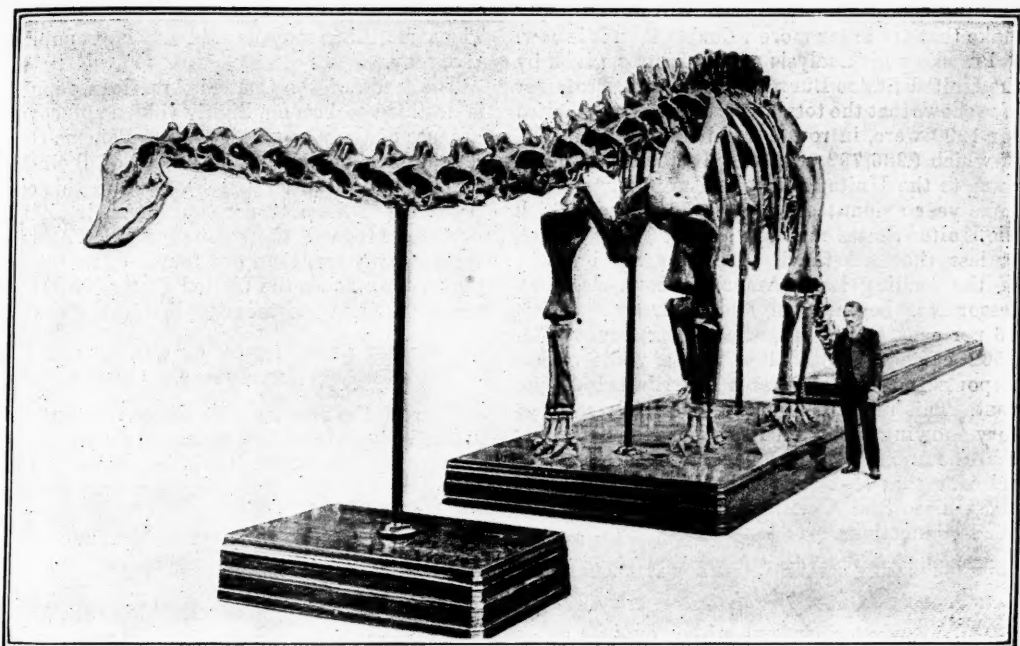
## A PREHISTORIC MONSTER: THE DIPLODOCUS.

THE story of the discovery and restoration of the *Diplodocus Carnegii*, the reptile of the order *Dinosauria* which was unearthed several years ago in Wyoming and now has a place of honor in the Carnegie Museum, at Pittsburg, is related in the pages of the *Westminster Review* for June by Director W. J. Holland, of the museum. This monster was secured for the Pittsburg institution through the generosity of Mr. Andrew Carnegie. It belongs to the sub-order of Sauropods, which were vegetable feeders, as is shown by their teeth. They were quadrupeds,—terrestrial in their habits, but capable of movement in water. Professor Holland thinks that they probably haunted the shores of the shallow lagoons and estuaries of the small continent which, in the Jurassic time, lay to the west of the Mississippi Valley as now defined and was one of the nuclei out of which the continent of North America was built. This small continent had a tropical climate, as is shown by the fact that in the very quarry from

which the remains of the *diplodocus* were taken there were also found portions of the fossil stems of palm trees and other tropical plants. Professor Holland describes these sauropods as "condensing machines."

They apparently came into being for the purpose of eating vegetable food and converting it into nitrogenous matter. They were then, in turn, consumed by their carnivorous relatives. They held the same relation to the carnivores which cattle hold at the present day to man. They were the agents for converting grass into meat. No other use for sauropods in the economy of the world at that time suggests itself to the writer. That their dead bodies were preyed upon by carnivorous dinosaurs is a fact which is shown by the marks of teeth upon their bones, and by finding the broken teeth of carnivorous dinosaurs mingled with the skeletons of the herbivora.

Carnivorous dinosaurs are believed to have been numerous in those times. They were not nearly so large in size as the sauropods, but had terrible fangs and jaws, and great feet, and were armed with remarkable talons. Professor Hol-



THE DIPLODOCUS CARNEGII.

land describes them as "veritable dragons, far more terrible than the one which taxed the valor of St. George." The dinosaurs reached their highest development at the end of the Jurassic period and the beginning of the Cretaceous. Then they slowly began to disappear. The whole order is extinct, and the only reptile of to-day which in some parts of its anatomy shows some resemblance to the dinosaur is the little lizard found in New Zealand. The skele-

ton in the Carnegie Museum was restored from material furnished by four specimens discovered in Wyoming at different times during the years 1899-1903. The skull is a reproduction based upon the original skull, first discovered by Professor Marsh, and a second skull obtained by the Carnegie Museum in 1902. A few of the bones of the fore feet, and a few of the chevrons of the tail, have been supplied by reproductions of materials belonging to other collections.

## THE COMMERCE OF LATIN AMERICA.

OUR neglected trade interests in American countries to the south of us are brought to our notice, from time to time, in magazine articles, which apparently fail to gain the attention of Congress. Such articles seem to be needed to remind us that south of the United States there exists an American population of 60,000,000 souls, inhabiting an area greater by 1,500,000 square miles than the United States, Canada, Alaska, and the Hawaiian Islands combined. This and many other striking facts concerning Latin America, so called, are tersely stated in an article contributed to the June *Arena* by Prof. Frederick M. Noa. Taken in connec-

tion with Minister Barrett's account of Argentine progress, in this number of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, Professor Noa's article throws new light on trade conditions in the southern half of our hemisphere.

According to the latest statistics published by our own Bureau of Statistics (the figures for 1902), the total foreign trade of Latin America with the entire world was, in round numbers, \$1,198,000,000, against \$728,000,000 for the far East,—namely, China, Japan, and the Philippines. The foreign commerce of Latin America is nearly one-half that of the United States, while that of the far East is less than one-third. The

opening of the Panama Canal will undoubtedly make that trade far more valuable than it is now.

Pursuing his analysis of the figures given by the United States Bureau of Statistics, Professor Noa shows that the total exports of Latin America for 1902 were, in round numbers, \$713,384,000, of which \$286,792,000, or only about one-third, came to the United States. The imports in the same year amounted to \$484,660,000, of which the United States contributed only \$114,636,000, or less than one-third. Taking a rapid survey of the leading Latin-American countries, Professor Noa begins with Mexico and shows that 76 per cent. of the exports of that country for 1902 came to the United States, while of her imports the United States contributed 63 per cent. This may be regarded as a fairly satisfactory showing, although Professor Noa holds that there is room for improvement even here, considering that Mexico lies in close proximity to the United States, with which it has close railroad connections.

#### OUR BEGGARLY SHARE OF THE LATIN-AMERICAN TRADE.

Cuba sends 80 per cent. of her exports to the United States and receives from this country 44 per cent. of her imports, the United States being the best market for Cuban sugar and tobacco. Cuba and Mexico are the only Latin-American republics which have commercial relations with the United States at all commensurate with the importance of their general trade. Brazil, for example, sends considerably less than one-half of her exports to the United States, and receives from this country less than 10 per cent. of her imports. The exports of the Argentine Republic are almost as extensive as those of Brazil, but of the grand total of \$173,205,000 only about 5 per cent. reaches the ports of the United States. Of Argentina's imports, amounting to nearly \$100,000,000, the United States supplies less than 13 per cent. and, yet, as is clearly shown in Minister Barrett's article, on page 49, the Argentine Republic is justly regarded as one of the most progressive, prosperous, and enlightened countries of Latin America. It has been frequently shown that American manufactures require for their fuller development all the raw hides and wool that Argentina can supply, and it is believed that the Argentines would be only too glad to have, in exchange for their hides and wool, such manufactured products as America can supply, if only they were offered to them on as advantageous terms as those of European competitors. In Chile, the proportions of American trade are almost the same as in the case of Argentina. Chile's foreign trade is, of course,

only a fraction of that of her wealthier neighbor. The same thing may be said of the republic of Uruguay.

The trade of the Central American republics is destined to become highly valued and coveted because of their proximity to the Panama Canal. At the present time, 42 per cent. of their total exports reach the United States, and this country sends to them 43 per cent. of their total imports. As regards the balance of Latin America, considerably less than one-fourth of its total export trade reaches the United States, while about one-fifth of its imports is supplied by this country.

#### UNJUST DEPRECIATION OF OUR SOUTHERN NEIGHBORS.

One of the reasons why Europe and not the United States is in almost absolute control of the foreign commerce of Latin America is to be found in the fact that Americans are too thoroughly absorbed in the conflict now going on in the far East, to the neglect of their interests in Central and South America, the control of whose commerce, as Professor Noa points out, would be infinitely more valuable to the United States than that of the far East. Another reason lies in a certain racial incapacity on our part to estimate properly the strength of Latin-American peoples.

Anglo-American conceit is not yet ready to admit that, in spite of adverse circumstances, a noble civilization is steadily and silently developing in the portion of the western hemisphere originally colonized by the Spanish and the Portuguese. There exists among Americans a wholly unwarranted distrust as to the general honesty and sense of fair play of their Latin-American brethren. The latter are keenly, and even absurdly, sensitive in matters of honor. Their methods are often lax, but they will beggar themselves to the point of starvation in order ultimately to pay every cent of their honest debts. It is quite true that their environment and centuries of evil training and conditions render too many Latin-Americans unpunctual in keeping appointments, extravagant and lavish in their tastes, easy-going in their ways, and dilatory about the repayment of their obligations. Such habits are the cause of endless friction in business dealings with their English-speaking neighbors of the United States, whose brusque manners and direct ways make them impatient with the Latin-American temperament. As an inevitable result of mutual misunderstandings, and for want of ordinary tact, valuable trade is lost because American exporting and commission houses are simply too careless and indifferent to exert themselves to take the necessary steps to secure it, and, accordingly, their competitors in Europe profit enormously by such colossal blunders.

American manufacturing and commercial firms generally send down to such a metropolis as Buenos Ayres, which has nearly a million inhabitants, representatives, drummers, and traders who have no proper training, are wholly ignorant of the Spanish language or have a



very superficial, smattering knowledge of it, are lacking in tact and courtesy, and receive such a small, pitiful salary that they can scarcely eke out a respectable living. When they endeavor to catch some of the profitable trade constantly flowing into European coffers, they find themselves tied down by rigid instructions to do no business except on a strictly cash basis. The British, French, or German representative, on the other hand, who is a sharp and expert judge of human nature, conforms to the customs of the country in which he is stationed, extends to a reputable firm in Buenos Ayres or Valparaiso a year's credit, if necessary, and brings to the home establishment in Great Britain, France, or Germany a rushing and extremely profitable business with Latin America. In addition to having *carte blanche* to conduct affairs in whatever manner he thinks will best promote the interests of his firm, he receives a large salary, not only that he may prop-

erly advertise his wares, but live in a style befitting his position.

Another very serious obstruction to the advancement of American trade with Latin America pointed out by Professor Noa is our unscientific customs tariff. It has long been recognized by protectionists as well as by tariff reformers that Germany and France, protective countries, like the United States, have so arranged their tariffs that the duties fall upon finished products, while raw materials, such as wool and hides, are admitted free of duty,—the very reverse of the policy of the United States. This is why the feeling in favor of liberal reciprocity with the Latin-American republics is daily gaining strength.

## SOME OF THE LEADERS OF THE FIRST RUSSIAN PARLIAMENT.

THE congress of Russian zemstvos, held in Moscow, early in May, is characterized by Dr. E. J. Dillon (in the *Contemporary Review*) as the first Russian parliament. He says :

On Friday morning, May 5, the most important, imposing, and influential of all the revolutionary conventions, the Zemsky Congress, was opened in Moscow by Count Heyden, the president of the Imperial Economic Society. It was neither more nor less than a Russian parliament, elected and authorized by a large section of the people, to discuss bills and enact fundamental laws to which nothing but the imperial sanction is lacking. But they are likely to be obeyed with as much alacrity and perhaps more generally than the average statute framed by the Council of the Empire.

This first of Russian parliaments was presided over by Count Heyden, of whom Dr. Dillon says :

An elderly, benevolent-looking old gentleman, who is the very embodiment of an iron hand in a velvet glove, Count Heyden was an ideal chairman. It may well be doubted whether in any parliamentary land, not excepting England, a firmer, readier, more affable, or impartial president could be found. Had it not been for the skill with which this Speaker, who looked for all the world like a Nonconformist minister, economized the time of the congress, it would probably still be sitting.

The readiest debater at the congress was Mr. Kokoshkin, a new man, young, hard-working, and zealous for the people's cause. Secretary of the Moscow Provincial Board, he had been a member of the committee which drew up the programme and organized the assembly : and it fell to him to defend, explain, or modify the various bills discussed. "This he did with admirable terseness, logical force, and remarkable knowledge of details," speaking on one occasion for three hours on end.

He advocated as the best form of representative government two chambers, of which the lower would be

filled by deputies returned on the basis of universal suffrage, while the upper would consist of delegates sent by the zemstvos,—as soon as they are reformed on democratic lines,—in the rural districts, by the municipalities in the towns, and by national bodies like the future Polish and the present Finnish diets in the autonomous provinces.

The most inspiring speaker in the congress, according to Dr. Dillon, was Nikolai Nikolayevich Lvov, a nobleman still young, very earnest, modest and altruistic.

His eloquence was not based upon rhetoric,—its source was warm fellow-feeling for his people, its aim truth and justice ; and his appeal to the workers who thought and felt as he did produced an immediate and a powerful effect. Enthusiasm was then revealed for the first time in the assembly, and men felt impatient that they could not proceed from words to helpful deeds. N. N. Lvov, the member for Saratov, is well and favorably known in Russia, and his well-merited reputation for high-souled patriotism imparted weight to his words. Dr. Dillon speaks most enthusiastically of Petrunkevich, the well-known economist. He says :

But if one could conceive a social worker in whom were blended in one harmonious personality the most sympathetic mental and physical qualities of St. Bernard and Mr. Gladstone, the result would offer a tolerable resemblance to the impression one has of I. I. Petrunkevich after a seven hours' sitting or a ten years' acquaintance. If I were asked to put into the fewest words the essential tendency of Petrunkevich's political teachings and strivings, I should define it as the quickening of politics with morality.

One and all, says Dr. Dillon, these are public men of whom Russia, and indeed any other country, might well be proud. Yet one and all they are misdemeanants, if not criminals, in the eyes of the autocracy.

## SOME MILITARY LESSONS OF THE FAR-EASTERN WAR.

THE German reviews are devoting considerable space to the tactical and strategical lessons of the Russo-Japanese war. In the *Militärische Wochenblatt* (Berlin), an anonymous German staff officer points out the exaggeration of the terrible nature of modern warfare, comparing the losses in the battles in Manchuria with those of other wars. Even military experts, he says, believe that the losses in modern battles will increase to such a degree that war will soon make itself impossible. In other words, "the technical perfection of modern armies will establish the eternal peace." While admitting the severity of the losses in the battles in Manchuria, particularly in that at Mukden, this writer denies that the figures of these losses are to any noteworthy degree greater than those of former wars. From the 26th of February to the 14th of March, he points out, the Russian losses in the battle of Mukden were: killed, 26,500; sick and wounded, 63,500; prisoners, 40,000; total, about 130,000. [These figures are based on the latest obtainable reports, and are probably correct.] In case the Russians had engaged the whole strength of their army, says this writer, the losses would be somewhat more than 33½ per cent., but if we reduce the effective strength to 300,000 combatants, the losses would be about 43 per cent.

Comparing these figures with the entire losses of armies defeated in former battles, we find something like this, the figures including prisoners taken: Zorndorf—Russians, 50 per cent.; Renensdorf—Prussians, 48 per cent.; Waterloo—French, 42.9 per cent.; Königgratz—Austrians, 20.6 per cent.; Gravelotte—French, 41.1 per cent.; Sedan—French, 42.2 per cent.; Mukden—Russians, 43 per cent. We are not able to intelligently discuss the Japanese losses, as we are not sufficiently informed as to their strength. It would also seem that the moral impression during a battle of more than two weeks could by no means be so tremendous as during the engagements referred to, where these losses were incurred in from six to twelve hours. Yet the effects of a fortnight's battle must be terrible; nerves and consciousness lose their elasticity; man becomes hardened and indifferent. As a whole, the impression will perhaps be more far-reaching than in the case of shorter engagements. The officer will suffer more in seeing half-a-dozen of his men fall one day after another during a two weeks' engagement than when he loses half of them in an assault.

## Defects of Russian Strategy.

An analysis of Russian strategy, particularly the tactics of the land battles in Manchuria, is contributed to the *Preussische Jahrbücher* by Professor Delbrück. The characteristic Russian tactics up to the present, says Professor Delbrück, have been the heavy massing of troops. On the

other hand, most modern battles (a fact particularly shown by the Boer war) had depended upon the smaller units, taking advantage of the ground in the case of every single man. With the Russians, the old spirit of Suvarrov and the bayonet attack survive, and one of the most brilliant living representatives of the Russian soldier, General Dragomirov, never tires of insisting on the precept, "Never strike with spread fingers, but with the clinched fist." This, he says, is the only reasonable method of fighting for the Russian soldier. General Kuropatkin, no doubt, lost his first two battles because he kept his troops too closely together, and because, for the sake of concentration, he posted his reserves behind the center of his front line instead of disposing them as much as possible behind the wings, which is the rule in the German army. Troops which are too closely massed are outflanked and kept under fire from two sides by surrounding movements, and this is possible even if the enemy be not numerically stronger. During the campaigns of Napoleon, these tactics—those of the Germans—would become disastrous, as the most closely concentrated line would break through and annihilate the weakened front of the enemy. The defensive power of modern armies, however, is so great that it is almost impossible to overthrow even a very weak front by a greatly superior force. This is the reason for the outflanking movement in modern warfare. By it we obtain the advantage of a two-sided attack, with two fronts able to use their firearms on a larger scale.

All this depends largely upon the psychology of the people. Modern tactics call for individuality, and in Russia state affairs and the people are made dependent upon the subjugation of individuality in ecclesiasticism and government.

The Russian soldier can have no more independent thought than the Russian citizen. The Russian citizens are not independent individuals, but races of many origins, kept together by means of power. How can these Poles, Finns, Georgians, Armenians, Kalmucks, and whatsoever the others may be, be brought to fight for Russia unless under strong discipline and in forcibly massed bodies? It is evident that the Russians made, at the battle of Mukden, the same tactical mistakes that they made during the entire first year of the war. On the other hand, the Japanese surpass even the Germans in the perfection of individual discipline, as they connect offensive advance by strategy and spade-work, which is used only defensively in the German army.

Professor Delbrück's conclusion is, "A slavish people will succumb on the battlefield just as they must do in the competitions of peace."

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GERMAN EXPANSION.

WHEN Prussia conquered France, in 1872, she believed that her conquest of the world would follow. If she still preserved the old national air, "Die Wacht am Rhein," she added to it the triumphant "Deutschland Über Alles"—"Germany Over All."

Since 1872, the Germans have set themselves to the task of disputing with other nations the sovereignty of both the land and the ocean; and they have employed in this work an activity bordering on the prodigious. They have become an industrial people,—tradesmen and navigators. They have spread themselves abroad, both among adjoining nations and among those at a distance from the empire. Oceans and continents have seen the new German colors, and everywhere a place has had to be made for these confident, energetic people. They are now engaged in trade, they are emigrating, they will very shortly be known as colonists in various sections of the world. It is thus that, thanks to this triple expansion—colonization, emigration, and commerce—a new Germany, a Germany beyond the seas, will be formed. It is of this future Germany that a French writer, M. Gaston Rouvier, writing in the *Monde Moderne* (Paris), wishes to tell us.

The Morocco incident furnishes an admirable instance of this, says M. Rouvier. The visit of the German Emperor to Tangier was certainly significant.

Every one knows that France, with the consent of the other European powers most interested in the matter—England, Spain, and Italy—has undertaken in Morocco the difficult task of pacification and civilization. The vicinity of that country to the French protectorate of Algeria, and the necessity of safeguarding the security and tranquillity of the French possessions in northern Africa, have made it imperative that Morocco should not only be properly governed, but that no other European nation should secure an ascendancy of power in that section of the continent. It was to protect these interests that M. St. René Tallandier, the French minister at Tangier, was sent by his government on a visit to the Sultan at Fez, a mission that ended disastrously for France. Certain members of the *Makhzen* (a kind of advisory board to the Sultan), vacillating between their scruples, their fears, and their personal interests, refused to receive from French hands any offer tending to the amelioration of the country.

## THE KAISER'S VISIT TO TANGIER.

It was at this critical juncture that, without any previous indication of his purpose, the German Emperor announced his visit to Tangier. As proof that this visit was not the caprice of an imperial mind, we have the comments published by the German newspapers, and—what

is even of greater importance—the statements made by Count [now Prince] von Bülow, the German chancellor of the exchequer. The papers, which for some time had been reproaching the Berlin government for not declaring war against Morocco, were loud in their expressions of satisfaction at the visit. The *Deutsche Zeitung* considered "the moment a favorable one for taking action." The entire German nation was unanimous in applauding the initiative of their Emperor. Count von Bülow remarked that "In Morocco, as in China, we have an important interest in maintaining the open door,—that is to say, equality of treatment for all nations engaged in trade." The chancellor spoke only of "economic interests," and we will, in fact, see what place these interests occupy in the actual expansion of Germany. The arguments of Count von Bülow are such as a British prime minister might have offered. German imperialism is a mercantile imperialism, a fact that explains the Anglo-German antagonism.

It cannot be denied that at Morocco there are German interests which do honor to her ability as a commercial nation. In fifteen years her trade with Morocco has attained the large sum of \$8,000,000, which represents 14 per cent. of the total trade of Morocco, 6 per cent. of its imports, and 24 per cent. of its exports. This business, facilitated by the existence of numerous German firms at Tangier, Rabat, Casablanca, Mazagran, Safi, and Mogador, and by two lines of steamers, is developing under the protection of a commercial treaty which cannot be annulled without the consent of Germany.

## GERMANY'S "WELTPOLITIK."

The most important of the von Bülow remarks, however, is his reference to the Sultan—"For this reason we must at once enter into relations with the Sultan." France, after her understanding with England, Spain, and Italy, after her solemn declaration to respect, in Morocco, the economic interests of all the powers, had some reason to believe that she was negotiating with the Sultan of Morocco in the name of Europe and in the name of civilization. To this, however, the German Emperor is opposed. It is not his wish that in any part of the world an important negotiation should be conducted without his influence being felt therein. Hence it is that the visit to Tangier is of political importance.

In 1897, the Emperor thus expressed himself at Cologne: "Since the consolidation of the empire by our great ancestor, other tasks have been imposed on us. It behooves us to protect the

interests of Germans now settled abroad. German honor must be maintained in foreign countries. *The trident has fallen into our hands.*" Let us see what are the facts that serve as pedestal for this theory.

It is reported that at the surrender of Metz Prince Frederick Charles pronounced these words: "We have just conquered on military ground; it is for us now to fight and conquer on industrial ground." For this new battle the country was equipped by nature. It had coal, and it had an increasing population. In coal, Germany comes next after England and the United States; its supply is four times that of French production. Add to this the fact that the working of the German pits is comparatively easy, and a noticeable difference in the producing value is apparent. This first advantage is multiplied by the abundance of manual labor. The Germans are more numerous than their hereditary foes, the French, by nearly twenty millions (in 1876, not thirty years ago, the difference was only six millions), and still the increase goes on. But if the subsoil of Germany is rich in coal, the soil itself is little more than middling in quality. It cannot support its increasing population. It produces only one-third as much wheat as France. The consequence is that the surplus population have had to turn their attention to the cities, to the large factories that have sprung up on all sides since the war. They have become workmen; others, going farther, have emigrated.

But with the rapid advancement of Germany into the front rank of the nations producing sugar, hardware, machines, fabrics, alcohol, etc., the country found itself confronted by the important question of how to dispose of the very goods she was manufacturing in such abundance. Her anxiety was not so much to manufacture the best as to manufacture the quickest. It was necessary to dispose of the merchandise that accumulated in her warehouses and on her docks. It is thus that Germany, now become an industrial nation, was forced to look beyond her frontiers, to mingle with foreign nations, to transform herself anew, to become a nation of traders. In this evolution she was aided by the merchant marine she had created, by her mercantile spirit, and by those of her children who had gone abroad.

The sudden elevation of Germany to the rank of great maritime power is one of the most curious economic phenomena of our times. The German coasts are miserably adapted to commercial purposes; they are low, dangerous, and inhospitable, and they are cut in halves by the Danish peninsula of Jutland. And yet, following the birth of unified Germany, the industrial improvement was followed by great maritime achievements.

In thirty years, the tonnage of the German merchant marine has increased by 124 per cent. This "commercial fleet" has passed from 642,000 tons to 1,700,000 tons. Almost three-fourths

(70 per cent.) of the foreign trade of Germany is now carried on by sea. In October, 1899, the Emperor, at a dinner given in his honor by the city of Hamburg, proposed this toast:

The development of the gigantic *entrepôt* of commerce, the city of Hamburg, is evidence of what the German people can do when their forces are united. It proves, too, how necessary it is to our interests abroad that our navy should increase in power. If, during the first eight years of my reign, they had not refused, in spite of my prayers, my urgings, and my warnings, to grant the necessary credit with which to increase our navy, we would to-day be in a position to lend an entirely different means of support to our flourishing commerce and to the interests that we have across the seas.

It is precisely this support that the Emperor intended to give, by his recent visit, to German interests in Morocco. Thanks to her colonists, Germany to-day has interests in every corner of the world. Her example is proof enough that the formation of colonies does not depend on the mother country. Germany possessed an immense population (the majority poor), and she had no colonies. That her colonists were satisfied with their positions abroad is shown by the increase in the number of emigrants. From 1871 to 1878, 472,983 persons quitted the mother country; from 1879 to 1887, 1,198,284; from 1887 to 1896, 732,482, making a total of 2,403,750 in twenty-five years. Of this number, 96 per cent. have settled in the United States. The present tendency, however, is toward the Brazilian republic. Thus, we have the curious phenomenon of the foundation of a colony in the midst of another nation. In 1899, the Reichstag voted a law the real object of which was to direct the emigration of agriculturists to southern Brazil, to the provinces of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catharina, and Paraná. The motive for the enactment of this law was plainly disclosed by its wording.

There [in Brazil], not only will the German preserve his nationality, but he will find . . . all the conditions favorable to a prosperous existence. He will, moreover, become a consumer of the products of German industry, and, consequently, a commercial and political intermediary between his new country and his mother country.

In this respect, official efforts are being strenuously seconded by the Hamburg Society for the Colonization of Southern Brazil. The experiments made have proved so encouraging to the Germans that the Brazilian Government has already manifested signs of anxiety and alarm.

#### GERMAN COMMERCIAL INVASION OF RUSSIA.

To complete this picture of German expansion it is necessary to speak of the German invasion of Russia, where more than two hundred thou-



sand immigrants have established themselves in the Baltic provinces, in Volhynia, and in the valley of the Don; of Turkey, where German friendship for the Sultan has secured, each year, some advantage for the empire; of Asia Minor, through which the German line connects with the great railroad to the Persian Gulf; of Syria, where the harbor of Jaffa is a German port, and where, since the spectacular visit of William II., German influence has made considerable progress; of Argentina, where England is already supplanted in the sale of iron wire and bar and flat iron; even of India, and, within recent years, of China and of the Pacific Ocean.

In the last named, the attitude of the German colonists has raised a new "Pacific question." Since her awakening to commercial conquest, and especially since her creation of the two most powerful instruments in foreign expansion,—a navy and a merchant marine,—Germany has also directed her ambitions toward certain islands in the Pacific Ocean. Flanked on the east by Kiao-Chau, on the Chinese coast of Shangtung, the German colonies of the Pacific—Marshall, Brown, and Providence islands in the northeast; German New Guinea, with the Caroline, Palaos, and Mariana groups to the north; the Solomon and Bismarck archipelagoes to the east; and even Samoa, which, still farther to the east, dominates the route from New Zealand to the Hawaiian Islands,—all form a kind of arch which commands the great ocean road to Australia. In all these islands, colonization is in its most active condition; thousands of plantations are being exploited, and a naval base has been established in the Bismarck Archipelago. In fact, it is evident that the absorption of the Dutch West Indies is a dream familiar to the German colonial party. A tendency has already evinced itself in these German colonies to protect by prohibitive measures the development of the national commerce. Hence it is that the Australians, who until recently were in close relations with the Marshall Islands, have found themselves confronted by strong fiscal barriers. They complain especially of the heavy duty (doubled in the winter of 1904) which is laid upon all Sydney vessels trading between that port and the Marshall Islands.

#### THE TEUTON IN THE FAR EAST AND IN AFRICA.

As regards German expansion in China, one fact may be noticed. At a meeting of the German Asiatic Society, in March, the president of the society, Dr. Vosberg Rekow, declared that "Germany must build a navy strong enough to resist the Japanese fleet in the far East." Here, too, as in the Pacific and in Morocco, the German policy of expansion is bent upon success. Even in other directions there are signs of this commercial activity. Recently, a German mission was sent to the court of Emperor Menelek, with whom an important commercial treaty has since been arranged.

The industrial power of Germany, the development of her foreign trade, the importance of her emigration, her efforts to extend her influence in all directions,—these indicate the birth of a new and greater Germany. If the German colonies are of least importance in this tremendous undertaking, it is nevertheless impossible to overlook them in considering the expansion of the empire. However disappointing were her initial attempts at establishing a foothold in Africa in 1870-80, her progress four years later was certainly an achievement. In that year (1884) she extended her commercial supremacy to the Kameruns, to Angra-Pequena, and to the coast of Guinea. She also founded in the territory of the Sultan of Zanzibar the *Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft*. In twelve months she had selected and marked the positions she intended to hold in Africa. In 1885, the Marshall Islands were annexed and occupied. They became the "point of departure" for new annexations in the Solomon and Bismarck archipelagoes, and in New Guinea. In two years the German colonial empire was established. The acquisition, in 1897, of Kiao-Chau, in China, and of the Mariana, Caroline, and Palaos islands in 1899, was simply an extension of this colonial ambition.

The most important of all these German colonies is that on the east coast of Africa. In 1886, Dr. Peters, the president of the German Colonization Society, purchased from the native chiefs an extent of territory some one hundred and fifty-five thousand kilometers square. Two years later, Germany secured from the Sultan of Zanzibar the administration and all the commercial rights of the districts that still disputed his authority, from Wanga to Rovouma. Thus, seven ports came under the jurisdiction of Germany, Dar-es-Salem and Bagamayo (the latter the headquarters of the caravan companies) being the most important. On June 14, 1901, an agreement with England defined the German zone. This now forms a quadrilateral of nearly one hundred thousand kilometers square, extending from Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika to the sea. Watered by the Indian monsoons, this vast extent of territory, which rises gradually from the sea to an altitude of five thousand meters, produces an abundance of colonial staples,—cocoa, mangoes, bananas, palms, sago, tapioca, rice, maize, tobacco, cotton, vanilla, and elephant tusks. It has been estimated that two-fifths of the land is cultivable. The construction of a railroad through the interior is advancing rapidly, and at Dar-es-Salem a floating dock has recently been completed. In all these colonies, as in the United States, in Brazil, and in the Argentine Republic, the Germans have carried with them their indomitable spirit, and, with true industrial energy, are working zealously in promoting the commercial world supremacy of their empire.

## BRIEFER NOTES ON TOPICS IN THE PERIODICALS.

### SUBJECTS TREATED IN THE POPULAR AMERICAN MONTHLIES.

**Personal Sketches.**—The July magazines are notable for the number and interest of their portraits of eminent living Americans and foreigners. Among these are Mr. Robert Mayhew's article in *Leslie's* on Henry C. Frick, whose report last month on the condition of the Equitable Life Assurance Society attracted the attention of the whole country; Miss Ida M. Tarbell's character study of John D. Rockefeller, in *McClure's*; the sketch of Secretary Wilson, of the Department of Agriculture, by J. Herbert Welch, in *Success*; Mr. George Archibald Clark's article in the same magazine on Luther Burbank, "the high-priest of horticulture;" Mr. Joseph Dannenberg's analysis of the personality of Senator Gorman, of Maryland, in *Tom Watson's Magazine*; the study of Admiral Togo, in the *World's Work*; the brief article on Mayor Dunne, of Chicago, by Richard Fairchild, in *Munsey's*; the sketch in the same magazine of "The Panama Triumvirate," Messrs. Shonts, Magoon, and Wallace; the pen picture of Commander Eva Booth, of the Salvation Army, by Rheta Childe Dorr, in *Leslie's*; and "Henry James as a Lecturer," by Olivia Howard Dunbar, in the *Critic*.—In the *Century Magazine*, Madame Blanc ("Th. Bentzon") writes on the late Princess Mathilde.

**The Story of John Paul Jones.**—John Paul Jones is the subject of two articles in the July magazines, in addition to Mr. Lincoln's contribution to the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. Each of these,—one appearing in *Munsey's* and the other in the *Metropolitan Magazine*,—is the work of Mr. Cyrus Townsend Brady, the author of a popular life of Jones. In his *Munsey's* article, Mr. Brady throws new light on the reasons which actuated the assumption of the name Jones by the youthful John Paul.—In the July number of *Scribner's* appears a full account, written by John Kilby, a quarter-gunner on the *Bon Homme Richard*, of the great sea fight in which that ship participated under Jones' command. The account was written by the old sailor in 1810. Kilby stood by Paul Jones when Pierson surrendered, and gives an interesting account of the incident of the sword. The whole story is now published for the first time.

**Historical Notes.**—One of the most interesting contributions to modern history that has recently appeared is Mr. John S. Sewall's story of the Perry expedition to Japan, in 1853, which is published in the July *Century*. Mr. Sewall was the captain's clerk on the ship *Saratoga*,—"a youngster just out of college," as he describes himself, "serving Uncle Sam presumably out of patriotism, but mainly in quest of the wherewithal to pay off college debts." His narrative of the reception of the fleet by the Japanese, and of the various diplomatic stages which led to the opening of the country to foreigners, is perhaps the most intimate and realistic record of those important events that has been given to the public.—Miss Agnes C. Laut's sketch of

"Gray, of Boston, Discoverer of the Columbia," in *Leslie's*, is a striking account of the first American to voyage around the world. The story is based wholly upon original material, and many of the facts are now set forth for the first time.—Mr. Cyrus Townsend Brady contributes to the *Cosmopolitan* an account of three of the great sieges of history,—Saragossa, Drogheda, and Londonderry.—The Fourth of July is the subject of two articles in the July magazines—"The Real Fourth of July," by Paul Leland Haworth, in *Harper's*, and "The Fourth of July a Century Ago," by F. W. Crane, in the *Metropolitan*, the latter article describing some of the features of the celebration in New York City customary in the early years of the nineteenth century.—"The Outlook in History" is the subject of a thoughtful paper by Mr. William Roscoe Thayer in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July.

**Bits of Travel and Description.**—Some of the interesting scenery about San Francisco Bay is described in a paper on "The Land of Tamalpais," contributed to the July *Scribner's* by Benjamin Brooks.—"Mexico, Our Neglected Neighbor," is the subject of a remarkably well illustrated article by Robert Howard Russell in the *Metropolitan*, while "The Land of the Half-Shut Eye" is briefly treated by Broughton Brandenburg in *Leslie's*, his paper being accompanied by a series of pictures of modern Mexico in tint.—Miss Martha Craig, the only white woman who has explored Labrador, writes in the *Cosmopolitan* of "My Summer Outings in Labrador."—In the same magazine, Edward John Hart describes "The Fishers of the Dogger Bank."—Thomas Wentworth Higginson writes entertainingly in the *Atlantic* of "Wordsworthshire,"—the famous "Lake Country" of England, and Ralph D. Paine describes in *Outing* a "bank holiday" on Hampstead Heath.—New York and its environs in summer are pictured in a variety of ways for the readers of the July magazines. In *Harper's*, Mr. James B. Connolly gives an excellent description of the harbor; in the *Metropolitan*, Montgomery Schuyler writes discriminatingly on "Architecture in Manhattan;" "New York from the Flatiron" is described by Edgar Saltus in *Munsey's*; and "The Human Need of Coney Island" is the subject of a readable paper by Richard Le Gallienne in the *Cosmopolitan*.

**Art Topics.**—A piece of serious criticism is the paper by Albert Kinross in the July *Century* on "The Secession Movement in German Art," illustrated with reproductions of a number of masterpieces of such painters as Thoma, von Uhde, Scheurenberg, Klinger, Stuck, Firlé, Böcklin, Leibl, Liebermann, and Menzel.—Annie Nathan Meyer contributes to the *World's Work* a hopeful article on the growing appreciation of American art, as evidenced in modern collections.—The July *Harper's* contains an appreciative article by Christian Brinton on the work of the American painter, J. J. Shannon.

## THE SPIRIT OF THE FOREIGN REVIEWS.

**"China, the Warlike."**—A new phase of Chinese history is set forth and analyzed by Captain d'Ollone, a French military writer, in the *Revue de Paris*. To the Occidental world in general, China appears as a hoary mummy, existing from time immemorial, unprogressive, immobile, conservative, buried in tradition and prejudices,—a nation and a people deep in slumber. In reality, however, this French writer maintains, China is of comparatively recent origin, is in perpetual transformation, is made up of peoples diverse of race, of tongue, and of customs, held together only by force. Progressive, warlike, and conquering,—this is the China which reveals herself to historians. He quotes from Cordier's "Review of the History of Religions" to the effect that "no other country has had more revolutions, or submitted to more frequent overturnings of its government. China has had experience with all political systems, from socialism to tyranny; she has known all philosophical doctrines, and her manners and customs have been more than once profoundly changed." This, however, says Captain d'Ollone, is not known except to historians. He goes on to outline the history of the Chinese Empire from the year 722 B.C., at which date historic accuracy may be assumed. Wars and rumors of wars, revolutions, conquests, and violent political upheavals have been without number. In fact, the history of the Chinese Empire, he declares, resembles in its general lines the history of the whole continent of Europe. He points out that China has gone through a feudal development just in the same manner as has the Western world,—with one important difference. While in Europe and in Japan the royal monarch triumphed over the feudal lords,—the Mikado over the Shoguns,—in China the emperor became merely the valet of the military chieftains, and there it is that the course of Chinese history separates from that of Japan and the West. China, he concludes, is not a country, but a world. There is a China,—not in the sense that there is a France or an Italy, but in the sense that there is a Europe. The conquest of Caesar, Charles V., and Napoleon have not endured, but the results of the Chinese great men of Hoang-ti, of Ou, of Koubilai, and of Kang-si,—these, it might be said, have almost become permanent. "China is one to-day; how many states will she form to-morrow?"

**Will the "Yellow Peril" Ever Come?**—Baron Pierre de Coubertin finds significant and impressive similarity in the international happenings of the present year with those of the year 1453. In *Figaro* (Paris), he compares the defeat of a European race by an Oriental in both of the two years,—the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (1453), and of Port Arthur by the Japanese. The fall of Russia's great stronghold in the far East, he contends, marks the close of one era and the commencement of another. And yet, he reminds us, although, after the Turks had taken the city of Constantine, for many years Europe dreaded a Turkish triumph all over the continent, yet this never came. Therefore, he bids those who are quaking at the idea of the yellow peril to take heart. For three centuries, he continues, our forefathers had the dark peril in their mind's eye, but it was never actually realized.

**What the Rise of Japan Means.**—The chief result of the Russo-Japanese war, Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu

believes, will be that the powers of Europe will cease political aggression in the Orient and will be content with the economic and industrial exploitation of such regions of China as they can acquire influence in. In a long analysis of the economic future of China, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, M. Leroy-Beaulieu points out that the day of territorial aggrandizement in China by European powers is over. The rise of Japan means the racial and international consciousness of Asiatic peoples.

**The Guardianship of Weaker Nations.**—An editorial under this title appears in *New India*, in which it is set forth that "the parental theory of government is a ridiculously false theory in politics. It is the creation of cunning despots, designed to cover the hideousness and immorality of all irresponsible administrations." No individual, says the editor of *New India*, can be intrusted safely with the interests and guardianship of any other individual not related to him by ties of blood. Much more is it impossible for any nation to be the guardian or trustee of another. Applying this philosophy to India itself, the editor says: "If this theory be so utterly untrue and absurd even in national autocracies, how much more must it be so in regard to alien bureaucracies like that which governs India. Individuals are far more likely to be moved by occasional fits of large humanity than nations and communities. An individual conqueror may adopt a strange people as his own, and may feel, as the Mikado does, that his own self-realization, as both individual and king, depends upon the self-realization, in the highest sense of the term, of his subjects, and then he may truly stand in the position of a father to them."

**Poland's Tragic History.**—A clear and forceful restatement of the tragic history of Poland during the past half-century under the Russification processes is contributed to the *Revue de Paris* by Victor Bérard in a series of discussions under the general title "The Russian Problem." In considering Poland and Lithuania, M. Bérard recalls the liberal views and theories of Czar Alexander I. This monarch, he reminds us, realized very little of the practical consequences of his liberal theories. He had regarded the strip of annexed territories along Russia's western border, Swedes, Finns, Baltic Germans, Lithuanians, and Poles, as a sort of buffer or protection,—at least a political separation,—between Catholic or Protestant Christianity and Russian orthodoxy, between old Europe and new Russia, between the liberal nations of the West and the Muscovite autocracy. Far from attempting to Russify these peoples or their civilizations, he tried his best to preserve their languages and national religions, their liberal institutions and traditions. In Finland and Poland, he affirmed the constitutional régime already existing. He, Autocrat of All the Russias, became constitutional king in Poland and constitutional grand duke in Finland. He little realized the change of policy which would come in with later emperors. According to the treaty of 1815, Poland was given a parliamentary assembly, with an autonomous council of ministers; her church was left to her, her Catholic clergy, her schools, her national language, her post-office, her customs, and even her army. All these public functions were reserved to Poland. The

kings alone, who were the Czar's, and their two representatives at Warsaw, the viceroy and the imperial commissioner,—these alone were Russian. But Polish patriotism demanded an independent Poland, and when the Czar Alexander was succeeded by Nicholas I. the policy of repression and Russification began. Gradually the rights and privileges were taken away from the Poles, until, after the revolt of 1863, all the ideas of Alexander I. were renounced and St. Petersburg began to treat Poland and Lithuania as conquered territory, enforcing the same government, the same language, and the same religion as obtained in the rest of the empire. One Czar, one religion, and one language was the motto, and the Poles and Lithuanians have suffered from this Russification policy even until to-day.

**Scandinavia and Russia's Defeats.**—One of the best known of the Danish reviews, the *Dansk Tidsskrift* (Copenhagen), has an editorial article on the effects of the Russo-Japanese war upon Europe, particularly upon Scandinavia. If Russia had triumphed, says the *Tidsskrift*, Sweden would have regarded the victory with considerable anxiety,—an anxiety of much the same kind as that of England in the matter of India. Referring to the idea that Russia's defeat will be detrimental to Denmark, the writer says: "The idea that Denmark could ever make common cause with Russia against Germany is an erroneous one, yet the weakening of Russia would result in a more moderate development of the German navy, and therefore Denmark would have less cause to fear her powerful neighbor."

**"The One Capable Russian Minister."**—A description of the operation of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, by Mr. Julius Price, war correspondent, which appears in the *Fortnightly Review* for May, will be good supplementary reading to our "Leading Article" on the Russian minister of railways, Prince Khilkoff, in our March number. One could not help being deeply impressed, says Mr. Price, by the unflagging zeal, and one might almost add enthusiasm were not such a word so foreign to the Russian temperament, of the railway officials all along the line. It was a remarkable antithesis to the indifference and conceit of the military authorities. No description of all this wonderful organization would be complete without some reference, however brief, to the remarkable career of the man who engineered the entire formation of the Trans-Siberian Railroad. Under the high-sounding cognomen of Prince Khilkoff, which is his title by right of heritage, and "Imperial Minister of Railways and Transportation," one would hardly recognize the whilom "John Mikale" who many years ago under this assumed name emigrated from Russia to the United States without a penny in the world and started earning his living in Philadelphia as attendant of a bolt-making machine at a dollar a day. After a few years in the machine shop, where his remarkable talents soon attracted attention, and learning much of the practical side of engineering, a knowledge which was to stand him in such good stead later on, he worked his way up by dint of indomitable energy successively from brakeman on a freight train to the position of locomotive engineer on the Pennsylvania Railroad. Shortly afterward, a break-down on the line gave him the opportunity of his life. His remarkable skill in averting what might have been a very serious accident attracted the atten-

tion of one of the passengers, who happened to be no less a personage than the minister of railways of one of the South American republics, the result being that the young engineer went off to South America as superintendent of a new railway in Venezuela, and ended eventually by becoming the manager of the line. This almost continuous run of luck would have probably turned the brain of many men, but John Mikale was not of that sort. To return to his native land and make a position for himself among his own countrymen had always been his ambition, so he decided at last to throw up his fine position in South America, and returned to Russia, still under his assumed name,—though by this time he was probably more American than Russian. By good fortune, as it again turned out, he managed to get an insignificant berth in a small country station, and here he might have vegetated indefinitely had not his wonderful luck again helped him. This unimportant little place on the line had always been the center of a serious dislocation of the traffic,—no one could exactly explain why. He asked for and obtained permission to try and remedy it, succeeded instantly, and from that moment became, not only a marked, but also a made, man in Russia, where such initiative genius is rare. From this moment there was no looking back for John Mikale. Having once attracted the attention of his superiors, that of the Emperor followed as a matter of course; he was promoted to the headquarters at St. Petersburg, and from there to the staff. The general managership of the line followed, and was succeeded by honors and appointments sufficient to satisfy the most ambitious of men, not the least being the restoration to him by the Emperor of the title and estates which he had voluntarily renounced when as a mere youth he had emigrated to America.

**A Russian on Russo-Polish Relations.**—One of the most thoughtful of the Russian magazines, *Mir Bozhi*, contains an article by F. Batiouchkov upon the subject of closer and more cordial relations between Russians and Poles. This writer is inclined to believe that there will be a *rapprochement* between the two Slavonic stocks. He does not see any reason why there should not be many reforms granted the Poles—political, social, and economic—as the best of the Polish leaders do not advocate separation. With the Poles placated, he says, Russia would have an ally surer and more valuable than France.

**The Best-Known Australian Cartoonist.**—A character sketch of Australia's best-known cartoonist, Livingston Hopkins (better known as "Hop"), appears in the *Review of Reviews for Australasia*. Mr. Hopkins was born in Ohio, and educated at Toledo, in that State. He began his work with *Scribner's Magazine*, when it was under the editorship of Dr. J. G. Holland. In 1882, he went to Sydney, and soon became the best known of Australian caricaturists. His political cartoons now have an international fame.

**Dangers and Possibilities of Psychic Investigation.**—In an elaborate paper, in the *Annals of Psychical Science*, Mrs. Laura S. Finch insists upon the duty of recalling the dead, if they can be recalled, in order to instruct the living. She says: "If spiritism can prove survival, we dare not allow considerations of danger in the investigation thereof to weigh with us, to stay our quest. At no matter what price, we must



push forward; as pioneers, we may suffer from ignorance and inexperience, but others will reap the reward and will benefit by our efforts. Let us not put aside this work—forego our efforts to enter into communication with the departed—from any cowardly fear of the moral and physical dangers we may be incurring. The development of what is called mediumship is only the development in ourselves of that psychic element in nature which is identical with the eternal. Mediumship is by no means a force at the disposal of a privileged few; it is a faculty more or less latent in every man; for we must bear in mind that no faculty is bestowed on one individual and entirely withheld from another. All development is unsettling, and is accompanied by danger to a greater or lesser extent. Life is one continuous example of this. I am aware of the nature of the dangers besetting the use of the psychic faculties. The man whose will is weak, who cannot control his passions and his impulses in ordinary life, cannot hope to escape either the dangers of his normal existence or the dangers of the spiritual surroundings he may create for himself when he begins to develop his latent psychic faculties."

**Improving Commercial Museums.**—Dr. Tito G. Roncoli, after visiting the commercial museums of Italy and those at Vienna, Leipsic, Dresden, Berlin, Antwerp, and Brussels, expresses, in the *Italia Moderna* (Rome), his belief that all except the one at Brussels are founded on the wrong principle. All gather together the products of a country or a region with the idea that outsiders or foreigners will visit it and get ideas of new things to import to their markets. But, says Dr. Roncoli, the importer has behind him an army of retailers and consumers whom he would like to keep the same habits of consumption, as introducing new products means much work and little profit, and he is not likely to go off to foreign countries to seek trouble for himself. It would be more sensible to plan the museums for the benefit of the exporters, who are the initiators of commerce, seeking new outlets and new customers. The museums should gather products imported into other countries with which the national products might compete. Consular representatives, commercial *attachés* of embassies, members of foreign exchanges, and firms established in foreign countries should be asked to send samples of imported products, with full particulars as to their origin, prices, manner of packing and sale, principal importing houses, and anything else that would be useful to an exporter wishing to compete in the sale of similar products. With such information, exportation could be begun with every show of meeting its competition successfully.

**A New Departure in Aëronautics.**—In an article on "The New Tendencies of Aëronautics," in *Natura ed Arte* (Milan), Franco Mazzini says that really, in principle, no progress has been made in air-navigation since 1884, when the Tissandier brothers, with a balloon furnished with a motor of a little more than one horse-power, maneuvered and went against the wind, while Kennard and Krebs, with a more powerful motor, succeeded several times in bringing their balloon back to the starting-point. The declaration of Hervé Mangon, in the Academy of Sciences of France, in 1884, that, with the Tissandier type, lines of airships could be established, is repeated after the performances of Zeppelin, Santos Dumont, Lebaudy, and

Baldwin, but the lines are not established. This is due, he thinks, to two causes,—the error in choice of type of aërostat and the difficulty experienced by inventors in making known or getting tested any different type. The error in choosing the single-balloon type was pointed out by Dr. Mario Schiavone at the International Aëronautical Congress, in Paris, in 1900, when he declared for a form as elongated as possible, and in which there should be coincidence of the axes of motion and of resistance. With this Signor Mazzini concurs, and he says that the time has come to leave behind the mono-aërostatic form for the bino-aërostatic or the multiple type, which, aside from other advantages, can conform to the law just stated. A complete discussion and investigation of this should precede any further airship-building, he thinks, as "empiricism should cease to reign in a field which should above all be examined exclusively by the scientific method." A great lack is the absence of any institution for the examination of the many projects from among which might spring the true dirigible type.

**Weekly Rest Day in Italy.**—Some months ago, the Italian parliament voted down a bill providing for a weekly day of rest for employees, supported by several associations and leagues of several years' standing. In the *Riforma Sociale* (Turin-Rome), E. Loli-Piccolomini discusses the reasons for this defeat, the general principles of a rest day, and the practical conditions necessary for probability of success for future legislation. The defeat of the bill offered by Deputies Cabrini, Nofri, and Chiesa he ascribes to its too wholesale and arbitrary character, overloaded, as it became, with impractical amendments. In principle, it was almost universally approved. The writer insists that individual liberty to work or not must be respected. Though for various practical reasons Sunday rest is preferable to the fixing of any other one day, or of leaving the choice of day optional, "the state should be entirely lay, and should take no account of the dogma of any religion, because all should be free to exercise their own moral action." The chief difficulty lies in application to the varying conditions of industries, the railroads and newspapers being most complex in their problems, into which the writer goes extensively.

**Interesting Postal Comparisons.**—The agitation for the reduction of postage in Italy causes A. Semenza to make an interesting summary of postal statistics in the various countries in an article in the *Riforma Sociale* (Turin-Rome). Italy at present, with postage at 20 centesimi (four cents) for fifteen grams, has the dearest rate in Europe for letters, and only France and Spain have two-cent local post-cards, as she does. The countries having a letter rate exceeding two cents of our money are Holland, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Austria-Hungary, Egypt, Germany, Sweden-Norway, Roumania, Spain, France (the last, three cents), and Russia (almost four cents). The countries having less than a two-cent rate are Japan, Portugal, and Denmark. The weight allowed runs from the twelve grams of Japan to the thirty grams of Egypt for most of the countries, with England allowing 113 grams, and Switzerland and Denmark allowing 250 grams. In volume of postal operations, the United States leads with 3,732,031,938 letters, 740,087,805 cards, and 3,306,582,333 pieces of printed matter. England and Germany follow in number of letters, and Germany exceeds in number of cards—1,162,679,460,

this owing to the picture-card craze, doubtless. France is second in printed matter, with about one-third as much as the United States. Italy, with 198,064,428 letters, ranks below Japan, and below Russia in cards, having 77,454,468, which is thirteen million more than France. In number of post-offices, the United States leads with 77,275, Germany coming second with 46,268, and England third with 22,642, while Russia, with two and one-half times our area, has only 12,450 offices.

**Is the Submarine Invisible?**—A writer in the *Revue Scientifique* (Ernest Coustet) argues that one of the chief defects of the submarine vessel in war-time is the fact that it cannot be made absolutely invisible. Recent mechanical inventions in the French navy, however, will go a long way toward bringing about this desirable result. Means of communication is also a very important subject in discussing submarines, and this writer believes that both observation and signaling will have to be more highly developed.

**The German Failure in Poland.**—M. Givskov contributes to the *Contemporary* for June a very lucid and instructive account of the total failure of Prince Bismarck's scheme for Germanizing Poland. A committee was appointed, with nearly \$125,000,000, to buy up Polish estates and plant them with German colonists. Polish landlords sold their estates and invested the money in Polish land banks, which bought other estates and planted them with Polish peasants. As the net result, "the Germans have only acquired 3,772 estates from the Poles, as against 5,183 estates bought from Germans by Poles. The area thus lost during these years by the Germans amounts to 32,200 hectares, or about 104 English square miles, and the loss is still increasing, having in 1902 amounted to more than 7,000 hectares, or about 24 square miles." The operations have resulted in planting 16,000 German peasants on the land by the government, while 22,000 Polish peasants have been planted by the land banks.

**Pietro Vanni, Versatile Artist.**—A notable recent addition to the gallery of modern art in the Vatican, "The Funeral of Raphael," by Pietro Vanni, is given a double-page tinted reproduction in *Natura ed Arte* (Milan), where is also a sketch of the artist, who died January 30, last. The canvas is imposing in size, twenty-three feet by twelve, and required twelve years' labor by the artist. It won a gold medal at the exhibition of Italian art in St. Petersburg in 1902, and later the artist presented it to Pope Pius X., who exclaimed, on seeing it, "This is a truly royal gift," and wrote a warm letter of praise to Signor Vanni, while conferring upon him the knighthip of the order of St. Gregory the Great. Vanni was a native of Viterbo, where he was born in 1847. From 1895 to 1900, he worked, with no assistance, in decorating the chapel of the cemetery of his native city with

his conception of "The Glory of the Cross." The other frescoes of this chapel reveal great mastery of perspective and architectonic problems. In Viterbo is also the tomb chapel of the Vanni family, designed and decorated by the artist, and regarded as a jewel of Renaissance architecture, and a dwelling which in its minutest details is a reproduction of a gracious house of the Renaissance period. Also in Viterbo, Vanni decorated beautifully the Parri chapel, which has also a splendid bronze angel by Giulio Monteverde. As proof of versatility, Vanni worked from 1901 on in etching, and at the recent international exhibit at Rome the wreath and crape attesting his death draped five splendid etchings and a water-color of scenes in the Vatican gardens.

**The Race Question in South Africa.**—There is a very good article in the *Westminster Review* for June by "An Unprejudiced Observer" on "Black and White in South Africa." His suggestions are: (1) a law, stringently binding on black and white alike, the graver offenses against which must be punishable by death, forbidding any intermingling of black and white races by marriage or otherwise; (2) prohibition of the sale of intoxicants to natives,—a law to remain in force for fifty years and then be reconsidered; (3) regular work compulsory for every able-bodied male native; (4) properly qualified and educated natives to administer local affairs jointly with white men, but white men to vote only for white and black men for black. Answering the question Where shall we then look for labor for the mines, he replies, without hesitation: "Not until the native is educated out of his childish fear of the dark and his animal-like terror of a trap will mine work ever be undertaken willingly as an occupation."

**Oliver Cromwell's Remains.**—Bishop Welldon discusses, in the *Nineteenth Century* for June, the various theories concerning the fate of Oliver Cromwell's remains, and arrives at the following conclusion: "All the evidence which I have collected and compared establishes the belief that the body of Oliver Cromwell was privately buried, not long after his death, in Westminster Abbey; that his body was taken to Tyburn, and there decapitated and buried; that the trunk of his body remained, where it was buried, beneath the site of the gallows at Tyburn; it has long since moldered away, or has been removed or disturbed in the course of excavation, and it is now irrecoverable; that his head, after being exposed on Westminster Hall for more than twenty years, disappeared; it has never been seen since, and it, too, is now irrecoverable." He confesses that this is to him a disappointment, for when at Westminster Abbey he dreamed of undoing, if possible, the sacrilege of the removal of Cromwell's body by replacing it.



## THE NEW BOOKS.

### NOTES ON RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

#### HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

**S**PECIAL studies of American colonial life, begun within the past few years, have made our knowledge of that period in our history far more definite than it was in the days of Bancroft and the earlier school of historians. It is fortunate that some of the results of these recent studies are getting more and more into general circulation. We welcome particularly Mr. George Cary Eggleston's modest little story of seventeenth-century life, entitled "Our First Century" (A. S. Barnes & Co.). This book makes good use of some of the valuable material presented in the more elaborate works of the author's brother, the late Edward Eggleston, describing the manners and customs of the English colonists, and relating their experiences in grappling with new-world problems. It is an intimate story of the daily life of the founders of our national institutions.

Simultaneously with the opening of the Lewis and Clark Exposition there appears "A History of the Pacific Northwest," by Prof. Joseph Schafer, of the University of Oregon (Macmillan). In this volume the stirring narrative of the pioneer settlements in the territory now embraced in the States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho is told in detail, while the organization and political progress of the three State governments are briefly sketched. The author has wisely selected for amplification those phases of Northwestern history which, as he points out, are "not mere replications of what had previously taken place elsewhere,"—the processes by which the wilderness was subdued, homes multiplied, commerce extended to all parts of the world, and a great civilization developed in a portion of our continent that we once called remote and inaccessible.

The very excellent "Mediæval and Modern History," by Prof. Philip V. N. Myers, which has been a standard for the past twenty years, has been revised (Ginn), and now appears so thoroughly up-to-date as to include an account of the first year of the Russo-Japanese war. This volume consists of an abridgment of Professor Myers' two former works, "The Middle Ages" and "The Modern Age." New illustrations, plates, maps, diagrams, and lists add much to the value of this work, which makes history read like a fascinating romance.

An attractively bound historical novelette, by Gen-sai Murai, the Japanese novelist, reaches us from the publishing house of Hochi Shimbun (Tokio). It is entitled "Akoya; or, The Ordeal by Music." Mr. Murai is author of the novel "Hana," which was noticed in these pages some months ago. Just as "Hana" was intended to be a picture of life among the better classes of modern Japanese, so "Akoya" is a representation of feudal days, and the heroine of the tale—a woman thoroughly imbued with the Samurai spirit—is held up as a fair type of the woman of olden-day Japan. The translation is by Unkichi Kawai, and the illustrations are characteristic and effective.

Whether or not Mr. Vance Thompson has really laid bare any actualities in his "Diplomatic Mysteries"

(Lippincott), he has certainly written a graphic and intensely interesting contribution to the literature of diplomatic intercourse. In this volume, among other things, he gives his version of the plot that ended the

life of President Faure, of France; of the methods of the Sultan of Turkey in spreading his net of secret agents over Europe; of the fierce fight between France and the Vatican; and of the real origin of the present war between Russia and Japan. The volume is appropriately illustrated.



VANCE THOMPSON.

A fascinating story of "Paris and the Social Revolution"

(Small, Maynard) is what Mr. Alvan F. Sanborn gives us in a study of the revolutionary elements in the various classes of Parisian society, which is illustrated appropriately and cleverly by Vaughan Trowbridge. Mr. Sanborn's attitude is set forth in the quotation from Walt Whitman which he places on the back of his title-page—"I have no mockings or arguments. I witness and wait." All the life of recalcitrant Paris, with its stirrings and strivings and protests, with the picturesque abandon and volatile earnestness of the French character when intent on demanding a change of *régime*, fairly radiate from Mr. Sanborn's pages. The revolutionist, even the anarchist in his worst form, is, after all, not a bad sort of fellow, you feel, and you are especially grateful to the author for the clear, vivid glimpse at the national character and life which he has given in this book. The illustrations are excellent. The chapters cover the propaganda of anarchy, of socialism, the revolutionary traditions of the Latin Quarter, the freaks, the fumistes, the cabarets, of Montmartre, and the revolutionary spirit in literature, music, and art. The book is "reverently inscribed to the proletariat of America."

A very useful historical volume which ought to have been written years ago is Mr. R. Nisbet Bain's "Scandinavia," issued by the Cambridge University Press in England, and imported by the Macmillans. It is one of the "Cambridge Historical Series" edited by Dr. G. W. Prothero. Mr. Bain, who is author of "Charles XII. and the Collapse of the Swedish Empire," has written an excellent political history of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, from 1513 to 1900. His text proves his fundamental thesis that "the political history of Scandinavia is the history of the frustration of a great Baltic empire." His volume is really an attempt to describe the rise of the Scandinavian kingdoms to political eminence, and their influence on European politics

generally. Scandinavian history, he points out, is largely a record "of surpassing individual genius which seems almost to turn aside, or at least suspend for a time, the operation of natural laws." This heroic process of empire-building on flimsy foundations, however, exhausted the vital forces of Scandinavia. Mr. Bain tells us in his preface that he has studied Scandinavia's foreign relations, not only from Scandinavian records, but from Polish documents and from the Russian historian Solov'ev's great "Istoriya Rossii." A number of excellent historic maps complete the volume. At the present moment, when Norway and Sweden are at odds, this history will be found particularly useful.

A pleasant little collection of "Historical Tales" (Lippincott) has been compiled by Charles Morris. These are stories of American history illustrating "the romance of reality." The collection begins with "Ponce de Leon and the Fountain of Youth" and ends with "The Home-Coming of General Lee and His Veterans." The volume is illustrated.

The Duttons have brought out the Grant Duff "Notes from a Diary." The Rt. Hon. Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff had a most interesting and varied career, and his diary, extending from 1851 for just half a century (to January, 1901), furnishes some remarkable comments on contemporary history. Politics and administration are omitted from general consideration, as these phases of Sir Mountstuart's life have already been handled in books and speeches. These two volumes are devoted principally to the period from 1896 to 1901. A man who has been for many years secretary of state for India, for the British colonies in general, and president of the Royal Geographical Society, has interesting things to say outside of politics. Sir Mountstuart is now in his seventy-fifth year, but is still traveling and writing about his travels.

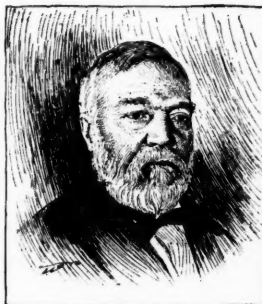
An incisive study of the part played by Mirabeau in the French Revolution has been written by Mr. Charles F. Warwick and published by Lippincott. Mr. Warwick, who has been mayor of Philadelphia and is a prominent lawyer in that city, intends this volume to be one of several presenting some of the legal and political aspects of the French Revolution, the principal events of which he purposes grouping around the terrible three—Mirabeau, Danton, and Robespierre.

The real romance of Victor Hugo's life was his friendship and closer relations with Mme. Juliette Drouet, existing over more than fifty years. Some years ago, Hugo's letters to Juliette were published in France, but her love-letters in reply have just been issued for the first time, with description and editing by Henry Wellington Wack (Putnams). Mr. Wack has written quite a readable book about these letters, giving a sketch of Hugo's life during his exile in Guernsey, with personal anecdotes and extracts from correspondence, and François Coppée has written an introduction. The book is illustrated.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie has written another book. It is a life of James Watt (Doubleday, Page), and is in an entirely different vein from his "Empire of Business" or "Gospel of Life."

Mr. Carnegie has written a biography which revealed to him as he wrote it "one of the finest characters that ever graced the earth."

In his series "Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Scientists," Elbert Hubbard has issued paper-bound monographs of Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, Humboldt, and Herschel. A good, suggestive portrait accompanies each issue.



ANDREW CARNEGIE.

Dodd, Mead & Co. have brought out an English translation of Rosadi's famous book, "The Trial of Jesus." Giovanni Rosadi, a Deputy in the Italian Parliament, and a famous criminal lawyer and advocate in the court of Tuscany, condemns the trial of Jesus as a miscarriage of justice, judged merely by the standard of Roman law. He writes with a fiery, burning earnestness and enthusiasm which imparts a religious stimulation to his book, which has already been translated into a number of different languages. The particular significance of the work is perhaps due to the two facts that it treats the famous trial as a matter of history and gives it its proper legal standing, and also that it portrays the personality of the man Christ in a way that appeals to a class of readers usually indifferent to religious books. The English translation has been edited and prefaced by Dr. Emile Reich, author of "Success Among Nations," "The Foundations of Modern Europe," and other works.

#### EXPLORATIONS, TRAVEL, AND DESCRIPTION.

A vivid account of two years spent among the snow and ice of the South Pole is given by Dr. Nordenskjöld in his stirring volume, "Antarctica." This book, written in conjunction

with Dr. J. Gunnar Andersson, is imported from London by the Macmillans. Dr. Nordenskjöld tells the story of the whole expedition, and puts the part played by Sweden in its proper setting. He outlines the general scheme determined upon at the International Geographical Congress in London, in 1895, by which the entire South Polar zone was to be explored



DR. OTTO NORDENSKJÖLD.

Frontispiece (reduced).

by means of international collaboration between England, Germany, and Sweden. England was given the task of investigating the tracts south of the Pacific,



Germany that of carrying out similar work south of the Indian Ocean, while Sweden had for her field of labor the lands and seas lying to the south of South America and the Atlantic. It will be remembered that the Nordenskjöld expedition, in the vessel *Antarctic*, left Europe in the summer of 1901, and spent the following Antarctic winter in the South Polar regions. It will be remembered, also, that the German expedition was the only one to succeed, reaching home only with great difficulty. The English expedition did not succeed in getting out of the ice, and was obliged to remain for a year longer than had been calculated on. The *Antarctic* was caught in the ice, "nipped" and sunk, and it took two relief parties to finally rescue Dr. Nordenskjöld and his followers. Notwithstanding the loss of the vessel, with many of the scientific notes, much of the geographical and other scientific results were saved, and, thanks to the financial help of the Swedish Government, the full report is now being edited. This volume is Dr. Nordenskjöld's own story (prepared in collaboration with Dr. Andersson and Captain Larsen, of the *Antarctic*). It is very fully illustrated.

The first work to deal in an adequate descriptive way with our Arctic possession is Mr. J. S. McLain's "Alaska and the Klondike" (McClure, Phillips). Mr. McLain traveled over all the peninsula as a member of the Senatorial committee of 1903, visiting the American and British gold fields, the island districts, Nome, the fisheries, and the Yukon country. His illustrated account of the country, with its history, resources, and possibilities for the future, is a pioneer work, and partakes of the nature of a public document.

Mr. John Fox, Jr., after "Following the Sun-Flag" through Manchuria as American newspaper correspondent with General Oku's army, returned, never having

seen a battle or gone farther than the field of Liao-Yang several weeks after the conflict. His spoils of war after seven months, he declares in this entertaining volume (published by the Scribners), were "post-mortem battlefields, wounded convalescents in hospitals, deserted trenches, a few graves, and one Russian prisoner in a red shirt." Mr. Fox praises his treatment by the Japanese authorities while in Japan, but criticizes those authorities for not informing the newspaper men at once that they could not go to the front, rather than dallying with them and keeping them dangling for months in Tokio awaiting the fulfillment of the promise to go to the front. There are some bits of very fine description in this volume.

A handsome work on Ireland, with illustrations from paintings made especially for the book, has been prepared by Mr. Frank Mathew, who explains and describes the scenes painted by Mr. Francis H. Walker, R.H.A. The book is published by the Blacks, of London, and imported by the Macmillans. Books about Ireland, this artist and author believe, are too much given to controversy and too little to description. Their endeavor is to deal with the nature of Ireland, and with the consequent natures of Irishmen. The text upon which they embroider their discourse is the old legend that Ireland "was separated from the rest of the known world, and, in some way, is always to be distinguished as another world." The very handsome illustrations are in color.

"Shakespeare's London," by Henry Thew Stephenson (Holt), includes, besides a topographical study of the city as it was seen by Shakespeare, some very entertaining chapters on the manners and customs of the people. Good use is made of the descriptions left by contemporary writers.

The report of the Bahama expedition sent out by the Geographical Society of Baltimore in 1903, edited by Prof. George B. Shattuck (Macmillan), contains sixteen distinct papers on various subjects pertaining to the Bahama Islands, all prepared by specialists, most of whom were present on the expedition and directed the work of their respective investigations. As the editor of this publication remarks in his letter of transmittal to President Gilman, the appearance of the book at a time when the work on the Panama Canal is drawing the attention of the civilized world to the Caribbean Sea seems most opportune. All the illustrations have been prepared with great care, and the book gives a wonderfully complete picture of the resources and the physical features of the Bahamas.

A journey through the Jewish centers of the old world, originally taken in the interest of the Council of the Holy Land Relief Fund, has furnished Mr. Elkan Nathan Adler with some most interesting material, descriptive and anecdotal, which he has put in running story form in a little volume entitled "Jews in Many Lands" (Jewish Publication Society of America). Mr. Adler, who is a lawyer by profession, searched for every historic corner in Europe, Asia, and Africa where his coreligionists might be found. He has the journalist's instinct, and knows how to describe what he has seen.

"The Better New York, Its Sights and Insights," is a useful little volume issued by the American Institute of Social Service, with illustrations, tables, and plans. It ought to be useful to large employers of labor, and to all strangers in the great city, indicating, as it does, the uplifting forms of recreation and entertainment available.



JOHN FOX, JR.

## SOCIOLOGY AND EDUCATION.

It will be remembered that Prof. Edward A. Ross was forced, a few years ago, to resign the chair of economics and sociology at Stanford University, and that he has since occupied a similar chair at the University of Nebraska. Recalling that incident, the sociological heresy-hunters will doubtless examine with particular care the new book by Professor Ross, entitled "The Foundations of Sociology" (Macmillan). Yet the keenest among them will find difficulty, we imagine, in singling out any censurable utterance. The book is of value to the lay reader in that it clarifies not a few of the foggy statements and definitions that have been associated with this newly developed science to its popular detractor. Professor Ross is a clear and forcible writer. His book is published in "The Citizen's Library," under the editorship of Prof. Richard T. Ely.

A number of the addresses of Prof. Felix Adler before the Society for Ethical Culture, in New York, have been collected and published in book form, under the title "The Religion of Duty" (McClure, Phillips). Among the speeches of burning, present-day interest are: "Changes in the Conception of God," "The Ethical Attitude Toward Pleasure," "The Consolation of the Religion of Duty," and "The Essential Difference Between the Ethical Societies and the Churches."

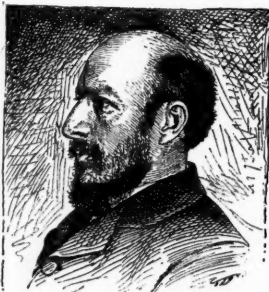
Miss Kate Stephens, formerly occupying the chair of Greek in the University of Kansas, and generally well known as club woman, magazine writer, and newspaper editor, has written a clever book of essays, under the title "American Thumb-Prints" (Lippincott). These essays appeared in the *Bookman* and the *Atlantic Monthly*, and cover subjects of national life calculated to show "the metal of our men and women." The essay on the New England woman is, perhaps, the most incisive of the collection.



KATE STEPHENS.

A series of magazine articles on Russia and the Russian people by writers of different nationalities, among them being Alfred Rambaud, Vladimir Simkovitch, Peter Roberts, and J. Novicow, have been published in one volume by Fox, Duffield & Co., under the general head "The Case of Russia." Most of these articles appeared originally in the *International Quarterly*. The writers are students of the Slavonic race and its home. There is a good deal of psychological interest in the essays, particularly in that of Mr. Novicow.

The first volume of the "Proceedings of the American



PROFESSOR FELIX ADLER.

Political Science Association" has just come from the press. This association was established less than two years ago, for the encouragement of the scientific study of politics, public law, administration, and diplomacy. It has a membership of more than two hundred, and held its first annual meeting in connection with the American Historical Association at Chicago last December. The present volume of proceedings contains papers on "The Beginnings of War," by Theodore S. Woolsey; on "Colonial Policy, with Reference to the Philippines," by Bernard Moses; on "Colonial Autonomy," by Paul S. Reinsch; on "The Reorganization of Local Government in Cuba," by Leo S. Rowe; on "The Regulation of Railway Rates," by Martin A. Knapp, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and a number of other important essays and discussions.

Prof. John A. Fairlie's book on "The National Administration of the United States of America" (Macmillan) is perhaps the first comprehensive work on this subject that has ever been published. No account of national government as a whole has been attempted, but simply a description of the administrative system, the legislative and judicial branches being mentioned only in their direct relations to the executive administration. There are chapters on the general and special administrative hours of the President, of the Senate and House, of the cabinet, and of the several executive departments and detached bureaus. The only wonder is that this study was not undertaken long ago.

A very handy and valuable legal work is Prof. F. Meili's "International Civil and Commercial Law," which has just been translated and edited by Arthur K. Kuhn (Macmillan). Dr. Meili is professor of international private law in the University of Zurich, and was delegate of Switzerland to the Hague international conference. He treats the entire subject as it is of international law as founded upon thorough legislation and practice. Mr. Kuhn, who is a member of the New York bar, has not only translated the work, but has supplemented it with additions from American and English law. Very useful lists, annotations, and bibliographies complete the work.

A thoughtful essay on "The Japanese Spirit" (James Pott & Co.) has been written by Okakura Yoshisaburo, and to this volume George Meredith has written an introduction. The volume consists of reproductions of lectures delivered by Mr. Okakura at the University of London. The essays take up and discuss most of the peculiarly characteristic national traits of the Japanese people.

It is a pleasure to note that Miss Katharine E. Dopp's book on "The Place of Industries in Elementary Education" (The University of Chicago Press) has passed to a third edition, and that an important new chapter is devoted to ways of procuring material equipment for industrial training in schools and to suggestions for using such equipment so as to enhance the value of colonial history. This chapter will be found especially helpful to teachers who have neither the equipment itself nor a sufficient knowledge of approved methods of utilizing it in their school work.

"Imaginary Obligations" (Dodd, Mead) is the title of Mr. Frank Moore Colby's "attempt to encroach on the zone of moral indifference." He has written on the topics in this volume, he declares, because he enjoys their absurdity; "but incidentally they may show why so many of us grow old rigidly or develop an alarming spiritual pomposity in our middle age."

## BOOKS OF NATURE AND OUTDOOR LIFE.

The spirit of revolt that leads men and women in our great cities to throw off the shackles that have bound them to the conventional routine of city life and betake themselves to the joys of the forest and the farm is voiced in "The Life Worth Living," by Thomas Dixon, Jr. (Doubleday, Page). This little book records the author's personal experience. It tells how he learned, after years of experimentation, that the country offers the ideal environment for the home, and how he sought and found his own hearthstone and rooftree on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay, in old tidewater Virginia, "the most beautiful and least-known spot in our continent." Mr. Dixon sets forth the attractions of the colonial mansion that he has made his home, and compares it with the "nineteen-foot slit in a block of scorched mud with a brown-stone veneer" which served as his abiding-place in New York, to the manifest disadvantage of the latter.

All persons who for any reason have made a special study of American trees and shrubs have become deeply indebted to Prof. Charles S. Sargent, whose monumental work, "The Silva of North America," has long been a standard authority among botanists. The general reading public is now enabled to profit more directly from the results of Professor Sargent's studies through his "Manual of the Trees of North America" (Houghton, Mifflin), a work in one volume containing over eight hundred pages and six hundred and forty-four illustrations from drawings by Charles E. Faxon. In this book, Professor Sargent describes American trees and their uses in a way which appeals to all who find any inspiration at all in outdoor life. It is an excellent book to put in the hands of all who are interested in village and park improvement, while owners of country places will find it indeed a *vade mecum*.

Mr. Louis Harman Peet's "Trees and Shrubs of Central Park" (New York: Manhattan Press) is an excellent manual for the assistance of the New York tree-lover whose explorations are mainly confined to the principal park of his city. The rambler in Central Park who makes diligent use of this handbook will soon possess himself of a fund of information regarding trees and shrubs, both native and exotic, which he could hardly hope to attain in so short a time by any other method.

At last a book has appeared which does for the wild fruits of the countryside what a dozen modern field books do for the wild flowers,—i.e., it serves as a key, or guide, for the identification of species. "How to Know Wild Fruits" (Macmillan) is the title of this work. The author, Maude Gridley Peterson, has tried to provide a convenient system by which plants when not in flower may be identified by means of fruit and leaf. As in the case of many plants this flowerless condition prevails for a great part of the year, a system of this kind has distinct advantages.

In "Bird Life and Bird Lore" (Dutton) we have a collection of papers by R. Bosworth Smith, which appeared originally as articles in the *Nineteenth Century*, together with several bird studies which were published several years ago in other periodicals. Although written in England and dealing altogether with British birds, these essays have a certain charm of style which should appeal to nature-lovers the world over. The birds particularly treated are the raven, the wild duck, and the magpie.



HERMANN SUDERMANN.

## ART AND THE DRAMA.

A sympathetic, suggestive analysis of Japanese painting, under the title "Impressions of Ukiyo-Ye," has been written by Dora Amsden (Paul Elder & Co.). This study treats of the whole school of Japanese color-print artists, and is appropriately illustrated with half-tone reproductions of famous paintings. The whole is printed on Japanese paper, and an appendix shows facsimiles of the most famous signatures of color-print artists, presented in this volume for the benefit of collectors. The art of Ukiyo-Ye, we are told in the first paragraph, is "a spiritual rendering of the realism and naturalness of the daily life, intercourse with nature, and imaginings of a lively, impressionable race in the full tide of a passionate craving for art."

A series of articles which appeared originally in the *Dial*, by Edward Everett Hale, Jr., have been revised and elaborated, and published (Holt) as studies of "Dramatists of To-Day." Mr. Hale presents what he calls an informal discussion of the significant work of Rostand, Hauptmann, Sudermann, Pinero, Shaw, Phillips, and Maeterlinck.

An English version, by Grace E. Polk, of Sudermann's four-act drama, "St. John's Fire," has been issued by the H. W. Wilson Company, of Minneapolis. This strong drama now appears for the first time, we believe, in English.

A collection of "Pictures by George Frederick Watts," with an introduction and selections by Julia Ellsworth Ford and Thomas W. Lamont, has been issued by Fox, Duffield & Co. This is very handsomely illustrated, with full-page half-tone and photogravure reproductions of Mr. Watts' great paintings, each one faced by some appropriate poetic selection from prose or poetry. The introduction is really a warm tribute to the artist.



## BOOKS ABOUT TRADE AND BUSINESS.

The official catalogue of the German exhibit at the St. Louis Exposition has been brought out in English translation in elegant typographical form. The work has been edited by the imperial commissioner and the composition and printing done by the imperial printing office from type cast from designs especially made for this purpose. Besides being a catalogue of exhibits proper, the volume contains a variety of articles on trade, industry, and economic conditions in Germany, interspersed with statistical and historical data. We are informed that there are a limited number of copies of this very artistic catalogue and record-book available at the German consulate-general's office in New York. These will be distributed gratis (express charges to be borne by the recipient) on written application.

In "Modern Advertising," by Earnest Elmo Calkins and Ralph Holden, recently published by D. Appleton & Co. in their business series, the authors design to give the general reader a sane and sensible exposition of advertising as it is now understood. The classification of "Modern Advertising" with such subjects as The American Railway, Banking, Life Insurance, etc., in this business series itself emphasizes the importance of the subject. In its modern sense, advertising is said to be that subtle but powerful force whereby the advertiser creates a demand for a given article in the minds of a great many people or arouses the demand that is already there in latent form. In the chapter on the

history of advertising, a brief account of its development during the last half-century is given, and reference is made to many spectacular examples of success, like P. T. Barnum, Robert Bonner, and others. It is estimated by the authors that the annual expenditure for magazine, newspaper, and billboard advertising is something like \$600,000,000, and the preparation of suitable plans, including the designing of attractive and striking copy for this expenditure, is touched upon as an important department of modern advertising. The book is written primarily for the general reader, and as such it will be found to be a most interesting exposition of the subject of advertising and sales-management. In the chapter on the advertising agent, the authors rightfully maintain that the agent has, by making the initial expenditures of the manufacturers effective, built up larger businesses, and thereby increased their advertising accounts to such an extent that magazines have been enabled to purchase superior literary productions, and that in a sense, therefore, advertising has endowed literature. After perusing this work, the reader may not be fully prepared to agree with the authors that "advertising modifies the course of a people's whole thought, gives them new words and phrases, new ideas, new fashions, new prejudices, and new customs," yet he will certainly have removed from his mind any misapprehension that he may have had concerning the importance and dignity of advertising itself, and of the profession of the modern successful advertising writer.

## RECENT NOVELS RECEIVED.

- Accolade, The. By C. E. D. Phelps. Lippincott.  
After the Divorce. By Grazia Delladea. Holt.  
American Abelard and Héloïse, An. By Mary Ives Dodd. Grafton.  
American Girl in Munich, An. By Mabel W. Daniels. Little, Brown & Co.  
Berlam of Beltana. By W. E. Norris. Longmans, Green & Co.  
Beyond Chance or Change. By Sara A. Shafer. Macmillan.  
Bishop's Niece, The. By G. H. Picard. Turner.  
Blockaders, The. By James Barnes. Harpers.  
Boys of Bob's Hile. By C. P. Burton. Holt.  
Clock and Key, The. By A. H. Vesey. Appletons.  
Crimson Blind, The. By F. M. White. Fenno.  
Embarrassing Orphan, An. By W. E. Norris. Winston, Philadelphia.  
Forest Drama, A. By Louis Pendleton. Winston, Philadelphia.  
Four Feathers, The. By A. E. W. Nason. Macmillan.  
Freedom of Life, The. By Annie P. Cull. Little, Brown & Co.  
Fugitive Blacksmith. By C. D. Stewart. Century.  
Golden Flood, The. By E. Lefèvre. McClure, Phillips & Co.  
Heart of Hope, The. By Norval Richardson. Dodd, Mead.  
Heart of the World, The. By C. M. Sheldon. Revell.  
Heda Sandwith. By E. U. Valentine. Bobbs-Merrill.  
House of the Black Thing, The. By F. L. Pattee. Holt.  
House of Hawley. By E. E. Peake. Appletons.  
House in the Mist. By Anna K. Green. Bobbs-Merrill.  
Human Touch, The. By E. M. Nichol. Lothrop.  
John Van Buren, Politician. Anonymous. Harpers.  
Justin Wingate, Ranchman. By J. H. Whitson. Little, Brown.  
Knot of Blue, A. By W. R. A. Wilson. Little, Brown.  
Langbarrow Hall. By Theodora W. Wilson. Appletons.  
Lode-Star, The. By S. R. Kennedy. Macmillan.  
Medal of Honor. By Gen. Charles King. Hobart Co.  
Miss Billy. By E. K. Stokely and M. K. Hurd. Lothrop.  
Modern Legionary, A. By J. P. Le Poer. Dutton.  
Mother and Daughter. By Gabrielle E. Jackson. Harpers.  
Motormaniacs. By Lloyd Osbourne. Bobbs-Merrill.  
My Lady Clancarty. By Mary I. Taylor. Little, Brown.  
Nutbrown Joan. By M. A. Taggart. Holt.  
On the Firing Line. By Ray Fuller. Little, Brown.  
Outlet, The. By Andy Adams. Houghton, Mifflin.  
Partners of the Trade. By J. C. Lincoln. Barnes.  
Pioneer, The. By Geraldine Bonner. Bobbs-Merrill.  
Plum Tree, The. By D. G. Phillips. Bobbs-Merrill.  
Prize to the Hardy, The. By Alice Winter. Bobbs-Merrill.  
Quakeress, The. By C. F. Clark. Winston.  
Return, The. By Alice MacGowan and Grace MacGowan Cooke. L. C. Page & Co.  
Sanna. By M. E. Waller. Harpers.  
Serena. By Virginia F. Boyle. Barnes.  
Silence of Mrs. Harrold. By S. M. Gardenshire. Harpers.  
Slanderers. By Warwick Deeping. Harpers.  
Smoke-Eaters. By H. T. O'Higgins. Century.  
Spirit of the Service. By E. E. Wood. Macmillan.  
Sunset Trail. By A. H. Lewis. Barnes.  
Tale of the Kloster. By Brother Jabez. Griffith & Rowland Press, Philadelphia.  
Tor: A Street Boy of Jerusalem. By Florence M. Kingsley. Henry Altemus.  
Two Captains. By C. T. Brady. Macmillan.  
Tybee Kroll. By J. B. Connolly. Barnes.  
Van Suyden Sapphires, The. By Charles Carey. Dodd, Mead.  
Vision of Elijah Berl. By F. L. Nason. Little, Brown.